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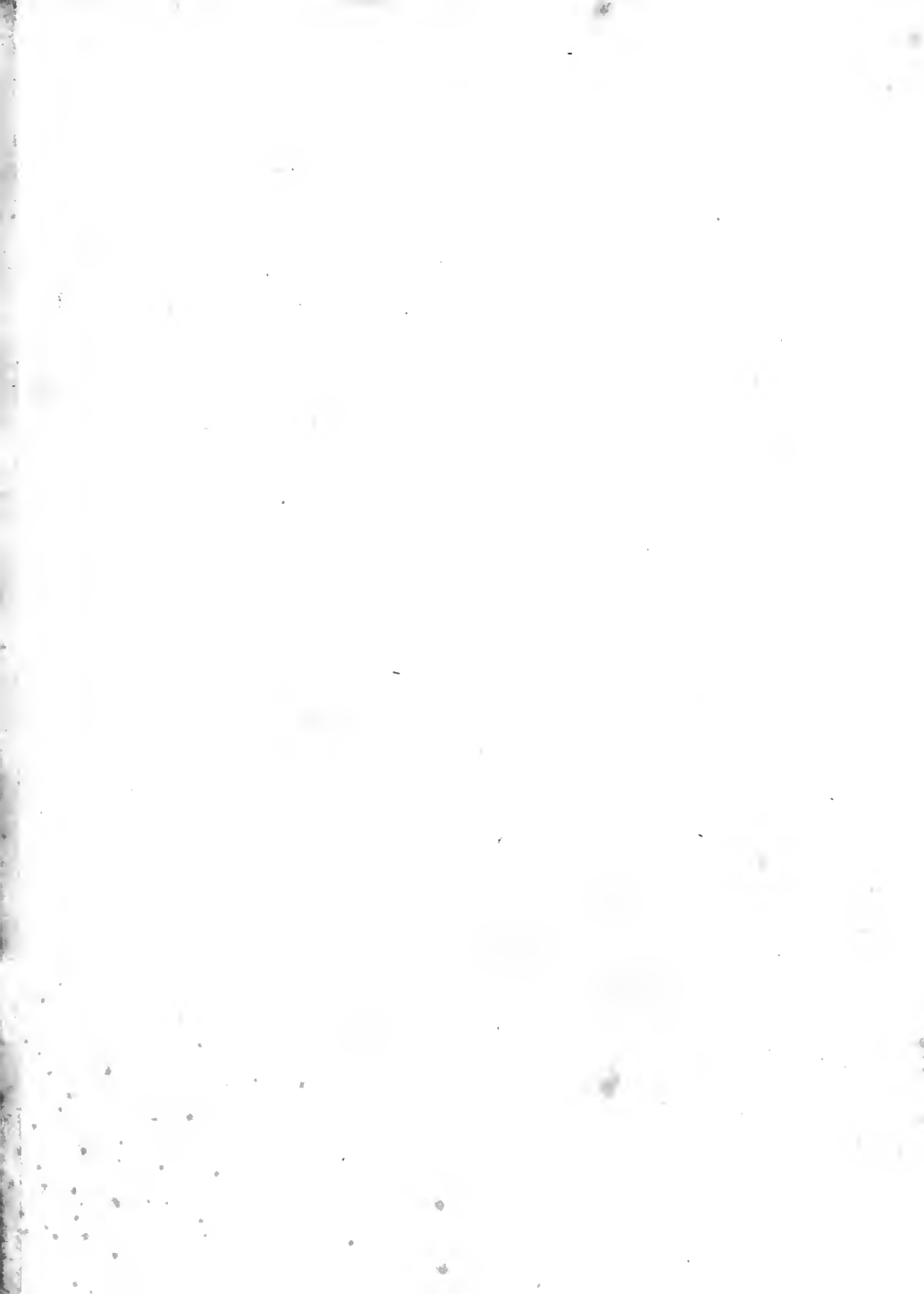


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Painted by W<sup>m</sup> Barbauld

# LIEUTENANT GENERAL HUGH MACKAY, OF SCOWRY,

*Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland, during 1680 & 1602.  
Colonel Commandant of the Scotch Brigade in the Service of  
Holland, and a Privy Counsellor in Scotland.*





**MEMOIRS**  
OF THE  
**WAR CARRIED ON IN SCOTLAND  
AND IRELAND.**

**M.DC.LXXXIX.—M.DC.XCI.**

**BY MAJOR GENERAL HUGH MACKAY,**

**COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.**

**WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.**

**PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,**

**M.DCCC.XXXIII.**

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M.DCCC XXXIII.

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My Lord

Supposing your Lord at present, if the Enemy  
be in the neighbourhood I dispatched this by  
a Libal to know from that place as the  
nearest quarter of our troops, if Rumour  
be drawn out, what passes in that line,  
having understood by a letter from the Countess  
that the Rebels were fallen down to the  
Bridges of Monteth and Bocheron, I left  
the north as far as indernettle well secured as  
I do Aberdeenshire and intends southward  
with Livingston's Dragoon and therefore be pleased  
to send an Officer express to meet me upon the  
way of Brecken and try here to let me know  
the latest motion of the Enemy, and where  
their Drums have been together and where  
about they are at present your Lord may send  
this to the Countess to this end they may know  
where I am, which is all I expect from  
My Lord  
Edm. Drummond the  
15th 7th 1690

Your Lord's most humble  
and obedient servant  
H. Mackay

## PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE author of the following Memoirs was a younger son of Mackay of Scoury, a branch of the ancient and noble family of Mackay, Lord Reay, which has long enjoyed extensive possessions and much influence in the northern counties of Scotland.

He was born about the year 1640, and entered on the military profession soon after the Restoration in 1660, when he obtained his first commission as an ensign in the Royal Scots, at that time termed, from its commanding officer, Dumbarton's Regiment.

He some years afterwards accompanied this corps when it was sent to France by Charles II. to assist Louis XIV. in the war which the allied sovereigns declared in 1672 against the United Provinces. In the campaign which followed, Mackay was employed in the division of the army which, under the command of Marshall Turenne, overran the province of Gueldres, and captured most of the Dutch fortresses situated on the Meuse and Wahal. In the course of this service Mackay had the good fortune to be quartered at the small town of Bommel, in the house of a Dutch lady of noble family, the widow of

the Chevalier Arnold de Bie, to one of whose daughters he formed an attachment, and was soon afterwards united.

The influence of his wife's relations, added perhaps to a certain distaste for the cause in which the arms of England were then engaged, soon induced Mackay to change his service; and in the year 1673 or 1674, he resigned his commission in Dumbarton's regiment, and entered into the service of the United Provinces, in the Scotch-Dutch brigade, in which he obtained the same rank, that of captain, which he had held in his former corps.

In 1674 he was present at the battle of Seneff, when the army in which he was engaged, under the Prince of Orange, was defeated by the Prince of Conde; but the services of Mackay appear to have soon gained the notice and merited the confidence of his new commander. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of major in the service of the United Provinces, to which he, along with most of the other officers of the Scotch brigade, attached themselves, when Charles II. was compelled by Parliament to reduce his army. When the command of one of the regiments into which this brigade was now formed became vacant, the Prince of Orange bestowed it upon Mackay, and, according to a tradition preserved in his family, his competitor on this occasion was Graham of Claverhouse, who, it is said, then left the Dutch service in disgust at the preference given to Mackay.

Some time about 1680, Mackay was promoted to the command of the whole brigade; and in 1685, on the occasion of Monmouth's rebellion, he was dispatched by the Prince of Orange, along with the corps under his command, to England, at the

desire of James II., to assist in suppressing the rebellion, which however was subdued before the auxiliaries were called into action. On this occasion Mackay revisited his native country for the first time after a long absence, and was advanced by James II. to the dignity of a privy councillor in Scotland. In the following year he returned to Holland; and in 1688, having along with most of the other officers of the Scotch brigade, refused to obey the summons of James II., commanding them to leave the service of the Prince of Orange and return home, Mackay, along with five other persons were declared traitors, and specially excepted from the general pardon afterwards promised by King James.

General Mackay was now embarked in the cause of the Revolution; and his services to the new government in pacifying Scotland, and subduing the Jacobites in Ireland during the two following years, are the subject of the memoirs and letters which are now for the first time printed and offered to the Club.

He returned to Holland soon after the government of King William was finally established in Ireland by the capitulation of Limerick in 1691.

In the campaign of 1692, he was appointed to command the English forces which served in the army of King William in Flanders; but here, as in Ireland, it was the misfortune of Mackay to be placed by his sovereign under the command of foreign officers of no higher reputation, and of less military skill than himself. At the battle of Steinkirk, he remonstrated against the dispositions made by the commander-in-chief, the Count of Solmes, for the action, and in particular against the

desperate duty which his own brigade was ordered to perform with a very inadequate force. His remonstrances were unsuccessful, and Mackay marched into the battle with the feelings of a brave man who saw that his own life and those of his companions in arms were about to be sacrificed by the rashness and obstinacy of their commander. He was mortally wounded early in the action, and three thousand of his men, of the English brigade, were left dead upon the field.

Although Mackay succeeded in early life to the family estate of Scoury, in consequence of the untimely death of his two elder brothers, he does not appear ever to have visited it after his first departure from Scotland. And the desire which he expresses in several passages of his letters and memoirs to return to Holland where he had established his family, shows that he looked upon his adopted country as his home in preference to the land of his birth.

He had issue, by his marriage with Clara de Bie, one son and three daughters. His descendants in the male line came to an end in the year 1775, on the death of his grandson, a Lieutenant-General in the Dutch service, and Colonel of the brigade which had formerly been commanded by his grandfather. His eldest daughter became the wife of George, third Lord Reay, and left descendants who still survive.

Mackay is mentioned more than once by Bishop Burnet, as the most pious soldier whom he had ever known, and is commended for the care which he took to enforce the observance of strict discipline and attention to religious exercises among the men under his command. A curious illustration of this may be found in the book of Rules of War, published for the use of the

army in Scotland,\* which being now rather rare, the editors believe that they will do an acceptable service to the club, by reprinting in this place, the conclusion of that work, which exhibits in a singularly beautiful and interesting manner this part of his character.

“LASTLY, When all Dispositions are made, and the Army waiting for the signal, to move towards the Enemy, both Officers and Souldiers, ought seriously to recommend (together with their Souls and Bodys) the care and protection of the cause for which they so freely expose their Lives, to GOD, Who over-ruleth the Deliberations and Councils, Designs and Enterprises of his Creatures, and of whose blessing alone the success of all Undertakings doth depend, which they may do in these or the like words :

#### A P R A Y E R.

**O** Almighty KING of Kings, and LORD of Hosts, which by thy Angels thereunto appointed, dost Minister both War and Peace; Thou rulest and commandest all things, and fittest in the Throne judging right; And therefore we make our addressees to Thy Divine MAJESTY in this our necessity, that Thou wouldest take us and our Cause into Thine Own Hand and judge between us and our Enemies, stir up Thy Strength, O LORD, and come and help us, for Thou givest not alwayes the Battel to the Strong, but canst save by Many or by Few. O let not our sins now cry against us for Vengeance, but hear us, Thy poor servants, begging mercy, and imploring Thy help, and that Thou wouldest be a Defence for us against the Enemy. Make it appear, that Thou art our Saviour, and Mighty Deliverer, Through JESUS CHRIST Our LORD. Amen.”

\* The edition of this work here quoted is entitled, “Rules of War for the Infantry, ordered to be observed by their Majesties’ Subjects encountering with the Enemy upon the day of Battel. Written by Lieutenant General MACKAY, and Recommended to All (as well Officers as Soldiers,) of the Scots and English Army. In xxiii Articles. Published by his Excellencies Secretary.” It is licenced by Edm. Bohun, and “Reprinted at Edinburgh, by John Reid in 1693.”

The Memoirs, which are now printed for the first time, are preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library, in a small volume in quarto, written in a fair distinct hand, apparently by some amanuensis or secretary, employed by the General. The French letters which are addressed to the King, and to the Earl of Portland, are contained in the same volume, and they are preceded by a title page, as represented in the work now printed at page 169, with the addition of the following words:—" *Recueilly et fidelement extrait des escrits du susdit Monsieur de Mackay. A Bommel 1702.*" As neither the Memoirs nor these Letters have any pretensions to the character of autograph writings, the editors have, in this part of the work, taken the liberty to arrange the punctuation, (which is generally very incorrect in the MS.) according to their own judgment, and occasionally to modernise the spelling, where it has been apparently vitiated by the blunders of an incorrect copyist or secretary, perhaps imperfectly acquainted with the language in which he was writing. In making, however, these alterations, they have taken care not to change a single word, nor to alter the spelling where it appeared to be that which the writer habitually uses, and not to proceed from carelessness or error in transcribing. In arranging the punctuation they have found greater difficulty, as the style of the sentences is often diffuse and involved, and there is consequently sometimes considerable ambiguity, and doubt with regard to the exact meaning.

The letters which form the appendix, and are perhaps the most valuable and interesting portion of the work, have been communicated to the editors by the Earl of Leven and Melville, of whose ample and valuable collection of family papers, the ori-

ginals form a part, and the club is indebted to his Lordship for his permission so liberally given to print these documents along with this edition of the Memoirs. It is to be hoped that the interest excited by these letters may be sufficient to induce his Lordship to make public a more extensive selection of the stores in his possession of letters and papers which would form valuable illustrations of the history of Scotland during the seventeenth century. As these letters, now first printed, are all original and autograph writings of the persons whose names they bear, the editors have taken care in this portion of the work to preserve exactly the orthography of the MSS.

The editors are indebted to Lord Reay for the frontispiece which accompanies this volume, being an engraving from an original portrait of General Mackay, in his Lordship's possession, executed by his orders, and presented by him to the editors of the present volume.

The thanks of the editors are also due to John Mackay, Esq., the present representative in the male line of the family of Scoury, to whose researches respecting the history of his illustrious kinsman, they are chiefly indebted for the particulars which are related in the above notice of his life.

*Edinburgh, March 1833.*



MEMOIRES TOUCHING THE SCOTS WAR  
CARRIED ON FOR THEIR MAJESTIES, BY  
MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY, AGAINST THE  
VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE, AND AFTER HIM  
CANNON, AND AT LAST MAJOR GENERAL  
BUCHAN, FOR THE LATE KING JAMES

M.DC.LXXXIX.



## MEMOIRS OF THE SCOTS WAR, &c.

---

ALL the Nobility and gentry of the Scots Nation then at London being met together at Whitehall, to consult of the next best measures to be taken (after King James retreat into France) for the government of that kingdom, agreed to offer the administration thereof to the then Prince of Orange, our present sovereign, untill a general convention of the states thereof should resolve what further were to be done, which convention was to meet in the month of March ensuing.

His highness having accepted of the government, gave orders for the breaking of some new levies on foot in that kingdom, together with the company entertained by the city of Edinburgh, apparently as not making much state upon their affection to the cause in hand.

The Crowns of England, France and Ireland, being devolved upon their Majesties, the King, by the bad humour, suddenly discovered in the major part of the late King James's forces, and the necessity of returning some thousands of the Dutch troops to their own country again, as well as of retaining the rest of them in England, to secure his new got possession, would not take all the requisite measures for the security of Scotland and Ireland; nevertheless, apprehending disorders in the former, if

the convention should fit without any forces to countenance and support his party, the King resolved to send Major General Mackay to Scotland, with the three Scots regiments come out of Holland, viz. his own, Brigadier Balfours and Colonel Ramfays, notwithstanding, the said Major General was then very indisposed for such an expedition, not being recovered of a great sickness wherby he had been attacked shortly after his landing in England, but willing to contribute his utmost endeavours for the advancement of so good a cause, embraced the command; and having obtained shipping, with some arms for new levies, and what amunition could be spared, he embarked the said regiments much about the middle of March, and arrived in Scotland eight or ten days thereafter.

The convention having sat some days before the Major-Generals arrival, the *Ld. Dundee*, with the Bishops, and severals of the disaffected members of the convention formed a design to seize such members of the convention as were for their Majesties, as was probably conjectured by the Duke of Gordon's refusal to deliver up the Castle upon his Majesty's order, as he had offered formerly to do, and Dundee's bringing to and lodging about town betwixt three and fourscore horse of his late regiment, deserted out of England.

One George Hamilton of Binny, a gentleman very well affected for their Majesties and the Protestant Court, with communication of the Duke of that name, president to the Convention, got four hundred well armed citizens of Glasgow to Edinburgh, which he so lodged about the Parliament House, that the adverse party found no security in the enterprise, besides these the Convention ordered the Earle of Levin to beat drums for volunteers, till the forces which they expected with the Major-General were arrived, and the Earle of Argile got in some of his Highlanders. Mean time Dundee seeing nothing to be advanced by his longer stay at Edinburgh, and apprehending that he should be seized, or, (as he alleged thereafter by a letter to the Convention), assassinated by the west country-men, to revenge his rigorous usage of them during the late reigns, retired with the forementioned horse, after he had spoke a considerable

time with the Duke of Gordon without the West-Port of Edinburgh, apparently concerning his resolution to draw speedily to arms.

In this condition things stood, when Major-General Mackay (whom we shall henceforth, for brevity's sake, call General, being the chief commander of the forces of that kingdom, as well as of those whom his Majesty had given him out of England) arrived upon Leith-road: who, having informed himself of the state of affairs in that kingdom, disembarked his men, not passing eleven hundred, (the king having taken away their old Dutch souldiers out of these three regiments), and being informed that the Convention had not continued King William, then of England, in the administration of the government of Scotland, he forebore to make use of his instructions from his Majesty; but desired to act in concert with the said Convention, in so far as their commands should agree with their Majesties interest; in which he found the Duke Hamilton, very forward and zealous, though others would gladly have persuaded otherwise of the Dukes conduct, who, no question, did it, as considering that his parts and quality would eclipse them, and frustrate their designs, if the king had once a good opinion of the Duke, so as to put intire trust in him.

Dundee being retired from the Convention, together with several other Jacobites, a summons was sent them to compear against a certain day, upon pain of being declared rebels and fugitives. Dundee answered the summons by a very disrespectful letter to the Convention, upon which he was denounced rebell.

At this time the General had sent some companies to Stirling, and because he did not much trust the Earle of Mar, heritable governour of that Castle, nor would not willingly let him know that he jealous'd him, upon pretext of an additional company lately levied, to reinforce the garison of the Castle, where there were many of the deserters of Colonel Buchans regiment, he got the Earle persuaded to receive a guard of fiftie men, with a captain, to be dayly relieved into the Castle, which captain, because the officers of the Castle were but subalterns, should command during his guard in the Earles absence. By which invention, that first

poft of the kingdom was by fair means, without giving offence or fufpicion to the Earle, fecured for their Majefties fervice.

The General, immediately upon his landing, diftributed money to the three Scots regiments, which we fhall henceforth, for diftinction, call Dutch, to make them up each to 1200, as alfo to the Earle of Levin, to levie of 780 men, according to his Majeftys order : and finding the difpofition of that kingdom tending to a civil war by the retreat of the Lord Dundee, with feveral other noblemen and members of the Convention, as was touched above, as well as by the combination of feverals of the Highland clans for their mutual defence, being afraid of the rifing fortune and apparent favour of the Earle of Argyle, under the prefent government, who had confiderable pretentions upon their eftates, befides, that fome of them had part of his eftate in poffeffion, by a gift of the late King, under whole reign the Earls father had been forfeited ; judging, I fay, that thofe difpofitions would tend to a rebellion, and not questioning but what was at the root, felf-interest and prefervation, as well in Dundee, with the other offended members of the Convention, as in the combined Highlanders, would be pretended King Jamess intereft : to make their party the more formidable, difpatched an exprefs to St. Thomas Livingfton to haften his march to Scotland, as alfo to the Lord Colchefters regiment of horfe. But this latter, being countermanded, after the revolted battalion of Dumbartons regiment, came not down till the matter of a month thereafter. Upon Sir Thomas Livingftons arrival, the General commanded him to Stirling and adjacents, both to fecure that pafs with the foot they had fent thither at his difbarkment under Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, and to be fo much nearer the province of Angus, where Dundee lay with the matter of 60 or 70 horfe of his former regiment ; the General, at his arrival, had ordered a trench to be made about that part of the Caftle of Edinburgh, which lies towards the country, to hinder the communication of intelligence and provifions, with the Duke of Gordon, after he had difcovered his intentions to hold it out, and placed guards and fentries towards the city to the fame purpofe ; it being impoffible and

vain to undertake any thing else, both by reason of the small number of the forces, with the want of cannon, bombs, and other ingredients, for an attack, and the natural strength of the Castle rendering it very difficult to be attacked with prospect of good and speedy success.

Dundee, as was touched above, having, by an uncivil letter to the Convention, discovered his intention of taking arms, the General ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to fall in to the province of Angus, with instructions how to hinder his forming of a party, to surprize his horse, and seize his person, if possible, and to lodge his own dragoons, so that Dundees horse should not affront him.

The Convention taking into consideration the untoward humours of many of the nobility and gentry, the combination of the Highland clans who apprehended the Earle of Argyles appearing greatness, and the general disaffection of the northern provinces, as well as of the borders, and of several of the chiefest corporations of the kingdom, not excepting Edinburgh, whereof the greater part of the inhabitants appeared not well pleased with the late happy, and for the general interest of the Protestant religion, as well as the liberty of Europe, so necessary a revolution, resolved to levy upon Scots pay 6000 foot in ten regiments, 12 troops of horse, making 600, and a regiment of 300 dragoons; and, accordingly, distributed commissions to such noblemen and gentlemen as did undertake to levy them, with levy-money, giving power to the colonels, as well as to the captains of horse, to make all their officers, whereby it fell out that those troops never came to any perfection, tho during the first six or seven months very punctually paid, because the chief officers, being all noblemen of no service, chose the officers of their regiments and troops, according as they had a kindness for their persons, or as they judged them popular, to get a number of men together, to the disorder of those troops, helping not a little, that the General found himself presently engaged in the war, so that he could neither see them, nor give order for their composition or discipline.

Towards the 20th of April, Sir Thomas Livingston, according to his

instructions, having formed a design to surprize Dundee in a country house of his, called Glenogilby, tho very well, and secretly led on, was nevertheless disappointed by the retreat of the said Dundee, the day before Sir Thomas came out of his quarter, upon whose advertisement to the General, then at Edinburgh, of his misluckt design, and the Lord Dundees motion to the north, the General judging his presence at that time more necessary to dissipate those first appearances against their Majesties government, (being by that time declared King and Queen of Scotland), in the north, then at Edinburgh, particularly since the Convention was to be adjourned till the Kings return and pleasure, both as to the acceptance of the Crown, and the changing of the Convention to a Parliament should come down, he communicated his design to Duke Hamilton, who judged it were sufficient to send an other: But the General judging the consequence of letting Dundee, who wanted not his arguments, to persuade men to his measures, play his personage among the nobility and gentry of the north, and knowing that all the Duke of Gordons interest, which is considerable in command of men, would joyn with him as one man, having dispatched the Master of Forbes eldest son to the Lord of that name, who also hath a pretty command of men, and is no friend to Gordon, to oppose the first endeavours of Dundee, and labour to dissabate the inhabitants of the northern provinces, and overturn Dundees persuasions, as well as his endeavours to form a party, resolved, upon the first advertisement from the said Master (to whom he had given written instructions how to believe in those matters), to march northward himself with what small number of forces he would spare from the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, with the security of the government, and that of Stirling; in order to which resolution he had sent reiterated orders to Colchesters regiment to hasten on their march to Scotland; which, accordingly, arriving about this time, the General seeing them much fatigued, and their horses spoyle in their backs, chose 120 only of the regiment, the Major and two captains, and sent them to the province of Angus, upon his road to the north, whither he sent also 200 chosen firelocks of

the three Dutch regiments, judging he would spare no more for that expedition, and to the end he might press Dundee on all hands, he communicated his design to the Marquis of Athole, who made many protestations of his affection to their Majesties, King William and Queen Marys interest, as well as to that of the Protestant religion, representing to him, that readily, if he would follow his advice as a man who wished well to his person and family, he should by the said Generals progress to the north find occasion to give the King, (to whom, as all of them said, he being unknown as to their inclinations and affection to his government, as yet they could not expect sudden marks of his royal favour), such a convincing proof of his zeal to his service in the beginning of his reign, as he would find the advantageous effects of, during the whole course thereof; whom finding disposed to follow his directions, he appointed to order his baillie, or some in whom he would repose trust, to have in a body 400 of his best Highlanders to pass upon Dundee, who, retiring before the General, would readily pass by some part of his Highland countries, which proposition the Marquis relished well, and as the General discovered him afterward to have done, tho too late, to manage Athole for the behoof of their Majesties service, who, being betrayed by his baillie, the General concluded, (by the free passage and kindly reception of Dundee thorough his country, and other behaviour of his people, contrary to their Majesties service), that he had falsified his parole, and played double game, which made him also both represent to the government, and consider the Marquis thereafter as such; by which means he had been lost for the service, who had he been got thoroughly engaged in it, would contribute as much to the speedy settlement of the kingdom in peace, as any subject in Scotland.

The General engaged the Earle of Mar also, to cause observe Dundee with 3 or 400 Highlanders about the braes or height of the province of Marr, where he was very likely to pass; for about this time Mar began to change in favour of their Majesties interest and service; and likewise he ordered the Laird of Grant, a person of a considerable estate and High-

land interest, and following, to make all diligence to the north, and not only to hinder the passage of his own country, called Strathspay, from the Lord Dundee, but also to cause guard all the fords of Spey, which he might easily have done, had he used diligence, and followed his directions; but instead of that, Grant stayed some days after the General at Edinburgh, while he believed him before him to the north: which wrong step of his was certainly without any design of prejudice to the service, tho' highly punishable, had he been a man of service.

For Dundee, being prest by the Generals approach, past into Murray just where Grant had orders to oppose his passage, and the Earle of Mar sickned immediately, whereof he also died shortly thereafter; so proved that project, (which, had those three acted with diligence and understanding according to their orders, could not readily have failed to take effect), ineffectual by the Marquis of Atholes Baillies treason, who, instead of putting his master's orders against Dundee in execution, sent the Marquis order, with assurance of his assistance: by the Earle of Mars sickness and death, which was the occasion, that the country of that name joyned under Colonel Murrey in the rebellion; and by the Laird of Grants too long stay, contrary to his orders at Edinburgh, about affairs of less moment.

It is necessary to remember, that all this time the General could not regulate himself by the Kings instructions, but rather by order of the Convention, which, immediately upon his landing, conferred upon him the General command of all the forces of the kingdom, raised and to be raised, which he made no difficulty to accept of, tho he had no particular instruction for it from the King, being sure his Majesty would be well satisfied since the Convention had not continued him in the administration of the government as that of England had done, that he, to whom his Majesty intrusted the service of that kingdom for him, should be also intrusted by them during their sovereignty, with the chief command of the forces whereof they had ordered the levie.

Mean time arms had been distributed to the Presbyterians of the west

country, who shewed themselves of all the kingdom the most zealous for their Majesties' government and the Protestant interest; and the most popular and leading men among them came to wait on the General, and gave him from time to time account of their matters, who encouraged them in their method of forming themselves in companies, and continuing their weekly exercifes of the handling their arms, whereof, so far as the government could not do it, they provided themselves, so zealous they were for the cause.

In this posture things stood in Scotland, when the Convention had formed their embassy to offer the Crown to their Majesties, and resolved to adjourn themselves for some weeks, forming a committee of estates for the administration of the government, untill their Majesties should have accepted of the Crown, or that they should sitt again.

The General, as was touched above, finding not much present business to do in the south, tho the government was not without apprehension of an invasion from Ireland, and believing he might in a short time frustrate the practices of Dundee in the north, which he had certainly effectuated, and so disheart'ned the ennemys of the government at their very first undertakings, could he have carried along with him but 2000 good men: but his small number, whereof, as afterwards appeared, a considerable part was traitors, together with the promises of succours from King James encouraged them; considering, I say, that his presence was most necessary, where the first appearances of troubles did shew themselves, left the command of Edinburgh to Brigadier Balfour, writing to Major General Lanier, that he judged his coming to Edinburgh, during his absence in the north, for their Majesties service, went to Dundee, one of the chief towns of the province, called Angus, where he had ordered the rendezvous of his party, with which, tho but small, he hoped to hinder the growth of that of the disaffected, and chase Dundee, if he durst not venture in action with him, out of those places where he expected most junction, and so at least train things till the recruits and levies were pretty far advanced: Having joyned his party at Dundee,

composed of 120 English horse, of the Lord Colchefters regiment four troops, of Sir Thomas Livingstons regiment of dragoons, leaving the other troops at Dundee, with Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, to keep the province of Angus in awe, which was very disaffected, and 200 of the three Dutch regiments, in all not exceeding 450 men, he marched to Brechin, where he halted that night, making a detachment of 50 foot, and as many dragoons, under command of his nephew, Major Mackay, to Livingston, ordering him to seize upon the Northwater bridge, the ordinary passage to Fettercairn, where he was to halt till next morning, taking special care he permitted none to pass before him, and to fall into the village a little before or at the break of day, keeping the half of his party in body, and ranging the houses with the rest, in case, as the General had some intelligence, that Dundee with his party, might be lodged there that night, knowing nothing as yet of his motion northward, which had certainly fallen out, if a certain officer, as was suspected, going to levie a company in the north, and had seen the General pass the ferrie at Dundee, had not advertised the Lord Dundee thereof, as he was within eight miles to Fettercairn, where he designed to lodge that same night that the General sent out Major Mackay to surprise his quarters, if he hapned to be there.

The second day the General finding among the party of English horse but 40 that could pass the hills, left the Major, who was sickly, with 80 horse at Brechin, all fore backed and in disorder, and marched with the rest of his party to Fettercairn, where, having understood from Major Mackay how Dundee, being advanced within 7 or 8 miles to that place, had turned another way, upon the news of his being abroad, but no certainty whether back again to the north, or whether he had taken the way up Strathdee, Brae-mar, and so into Glenfhee, by which way he could enter into the province of Angus again behind the General, which obliged him (notwithstanding he was very impatient to be near him before he fortified his party) to make an halt at Fettercairn at the foot of the hills which separate the southern from the northern provinces of Scotland,

called in history the Grampian Hills, till he should have certain notice what way Dundee had taken, and for that end dispatched several poor countrymen, with money in hand, (and a promise of more at their return, with sure intelligence), upon country horses after him towards both the ways which he might have taken, who brought notice that Dundee, having understood the Generals motion, made a feint as if he passed by Brae-mar towards the south into Angus, but that after some miles march he had turned down towards Strathdone and Strathbogy, being the Duke of Gordons lands, which he, with the Earle of Dumfermling, married to the Dukes sister, laboured to raise in rebellion.

Upon which advice the General marched over the hills, pursuing his way the whole night till he had past the river Dee at Kincardin, where he had certain news of the enemy, (as we may henceforth call him), by an express from the Master of Forbes, who next day met him with the matter of 40 gentlemen of his name on horse, and about 5 or 600 country foot, who were so ill armed, and appeared so little like the work, that the General, thanking the Master for his appearance for their Majesties service, ordered him to dismiss those countrymen, with orders to be ready to come together whenever any enemy party threat'ned their own province, desiring the said Master to bestir himself as much as he could, and make as many friends for the government, with assurance of his effectually recommendations to the King in his favour, which the Master also did observe very zealously, contributing all along, together with Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, to keep two considerable and very disaffected provinces in awe, under the obedience of their Majesties government, whereof we shall have occasion to touch something hereafter.

The General, being advanced the length of Strathbogy, got notice that Dundee had past Spey 12 miles from Strathbogy, whom, tho his party was much weakned, he resolved to pursue hotly, to give him no time, either to draw to his party, by his cunning, such as had not declared themselves, or draw to those plain countries the combined Highlanders, and to force those that had no mind to it to take arms with them: next

day then, being on his march towards the river of Spey, a gentleman brought him a letter, writ by the Lord Dundee, from besides Inuerness, signifying to the Magistrates of Elgin in Murray, a country open town, six miles on the other side Spey, that he had met accidentally with one Colonel Macdonald, with 900 or 1000 brisk Highlanders, with whom he intended to meet Mackay, or return the chase upon him; and therefore desired to make quarters for that number of foot besides his horse, for that he intended to be with them next day, that is to say, the same day the General got it, which letter, the Magistrates hearing of his approach, sent him, being unwilling to receive a visit from such hungry guests, who kept at that time Inuerness blockt up, to force them to a composition, to which, being but an open country town, they agreed, buying off the hazard of an attack at the loss of a little money.

The news of this unexpected junction of such a party of Highlanders with Dundee, put the General at first to some nonplus what resolution to take, for he considered that it would be matter of the last consequence for their Majesties service, considering the small number of forces at that time in the kingdom, if he should happen to be beat. Of which advantage the enemy would not fail to profit, because the whole north, by fair or foul means, would declare for him, there being nothing, particularly in the north, to oppose them, if that small handful were routed: and on the other hand, the retiring southward, yea, the halting at Spey would give time and occasion to Dundee to render himself master of Inuerness, as well as of Elgin, with the provinces of Murray, Ross and Caithness, which were mostly affected to that party, beside the affront and disadvantage it would be to the government to be so early upon the defensive. Those considerations then thus weighed, and the General relying upon some succours out of the province of Sutherland, which he knew to be well affected to their Majesties and the Protestant interest, as well as from the Lairds of Balnagown, chief of the Rosses, and the Laird of Grant, both gentlemen of a considerable command of men, and well affected, resolved to push forward, and instead of lodging, as he had determined

before he had received the foresaid letter at Spey, to take his quarter that night at Elgin, where the inhabitants expected Dundee with his Highlanders, dispatching an express with orders to the English horse, which he left at Brechin, to pass the hills, and follow him in all possible diligence, being very well satisfied to see his small party so desirous of action, that the 200 old foot he had with him kept the horse and dragoons at the trot for seven miles betwixt Spey and Elgin, where he arrived with so much day, that he had time to view the ground, and post his guards in advantageous places, resolving to halt there till the rest of the horse should join him, dispatching presently well affected persons of the country towards Inverness, both to encourage the inhabitants to stand firm to the government, with assurance of speedy relief, and to get news of the enemy, sending at the same time messengers to advertise the Earle of Sutherlands men, with those of the Lord Rae, Balnagown and Grant, to be in readiness to march with their best arms upon his first orders.

Mean time the General sent orders to all the heritors of Murray to appear with their best horses and arms after the usual way, when they were called out for the Kings service, but their appearance testified sufficiently, that they were not so fond of the change as might be reasonably expected of men so newly delivered from the greatest of all evils, temporal and eternal slavery, the least whereof was sufficient to make the heathens venture all, rather than submit to it. But Scotland was at this time sufficiently prepared for the yoke, both by the popish design, for the introduction whereof the laws must needs be removed out of the way, which proved an obstacle by the clergy, which, to favour such designs, must be chosen, such as would preach what might serve to the purpose, and by the ministers of state, particularly the secretaries, who follow closely (and refine at every change according to the capacity of the person) upon Lauderdale's maxim of governing that kingdom by absolute power, to which the Kings absence, who can know nothing of the affairs thereof, but as they are represented unto him, no more than they would be repre-

fented; but by his secretary giveth occasion, and which can never be absolutely remedied, tho the King or Queen in being, have no design but their peoples happiness, being always necessarily absent till there come such a happy age as shall produce ministers of state, administrators of justice, men fearing God and hating covetousness, or that Scotland be united with England, whereby their kings may have a clearer view of their matters, and the occasion of men's oppression to make up their own families be removed. But we shall leave this subject to the learned, only adding in general, that in all the progresses and marches of the General benorth Tay, he testified to have remarked no true sense of the deliverance which God had sent them, except in very few, and that the people in general were disposed to submit to, and embrace the party which they judged most like to carry it, their zeal for the preservation of their goods going by them, far beyond the consideration of religion and liberty, which he attributed to their gross ignorance occasioned by the negligence of their ministers, as well as the large extent of their parishes, which made most of them come seldom to church, besides, that the doctrine urged mostly implicate obedience to the higher powers, without distinction or limitation, whether it was not more lawfull to obey God than men, when their commands meet in opposition, nor whether a prince can be called the higher power, without having the legislative as well as the executive part of the government in himself alone.

The General having got up his fourscore English horse, marched straight towards Inverness, dispatching the Laird of Grant, who had joined him at Elgin, after he had been two days there, to his own country to have the men thereof in arms, in case he might have occasion to call for him, and ordered the Lord Raes [ ] (he himself being a child) to send under two principall gentlemen thereof, 200 chosen men, and the Laird of Balnagown, an 100 to Inverness provisionally, till he saw how matters would dispose themselves: being then arrived at Forres, he got news that Dundee was retired into the Highlands from before Inverness, not willing to hazard in action, so he continued his way thither, where he

met Balnagown with great protestations of his affection to the Protestant cause and their Majesties government, which he also made appear thereafter, by his readiness to comply with such as commanded in those northern parts their Majesties forces, having then got into Inverness, together with his own party, some 4 or 500 men of the forementioned families, which were only those he could make state upon. He ordered the paliffading of all the avenues and entries with the principal streets of the town, and made a review of the inhabitants, which he found to be about 300 well armed and resolved men for the defence of their town: He ordered also the Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant to levy their regiments, for which they had taken commissions, with all speed, and to arm so many of them as they could, with such arms as usually Highlanders make use of, most of them being of that sort of people. Mean time he summoned the chief heritors of the Earle of Seaforth's family, which is considerable, as well as of the Lord Lovets, the former, called the Mackenzies, and those latter the Frazers, to know how they were disposed for the present government, to come to him to Inverness, but found them partly disaffected, and partly irresolute and indifferent, and all of them more apparent to join against than with him; which the General considering, together with the weakness of his party, and judging that not only his reputation, but the interest of the service would greatly suffer if he should return south without leaving that country in a more settled condition, he dispatched an express to Colonel Balfour, commanding in chief, the forces in the south, ordering him to dispatch Colonel Ramsay with 600 chosen men of the three Dutch regiments, (supposing them by that time pretty far advanced in their recruits) with officers conform, and for his more speedy junction, ordered him to come the shortest cutt over Athole and Badenoch, in which latter country the General was to meet him, to secure his march in case Dundee, with the Lochaber men, should form a design upon him in his march.

Balfour having received the General's orders, made the detachment under Colonel Ramsay, dispatching him presently forward, but by mis-

fortune, or rather providence, whose directions are above our reach, a fleet of Hollands herring buthes appeared upon the coast at the mouth of the Frith, the same day Ramfay was buflie to pafs his detachment over from Leith to Bruntifland, which the government fuppofing to be a French invafion, being greatly alarmed, countermanded Ramfay, till they had difcovered the truth of the matter, which hindred him two or three days, and proved the occafion of all the difficulties and hazard for the fervice, wherewith the General had to wrefle with a fmall handfull of men for two or three months thereafter, mean time he laboured to have continual news of Dundee and the Highlanders.

A little before the General went to the north, happening in difcourfe with the Vifcount of Tarbat, touching the Highland combination, and willing to know what might be the true ground or motive thereof, was informed by the faid Vifcount, that it was neither the love of King James, nor hatred of King William, which moved them to it, or at leaft fome of the wifeft of them, as Lochiel Chief of the Camerons, whose cunning engaged others, who were not fo much interefted in his quarrel, but that it was out of the apprehenfion of the Earle of Argyles appearant reftauration and favour, whose predeceffors, during their greatnefs, had always quarrels with almoft all the families of the Macdonalds, to the extirpation and ruin of a great many of them, and becaufe Lochiel had fome of the late Earle of Argyles lands, which were forfeited in the reign of King Charles, by a gift of King James in poffeffion, and that feverals of thofe combined Highlanders did hold their lands of the Earle, thefe were the moft apparent occafions of the Highland combination at firft; tho after their junction with Dundee, being fupported with the hopes of an invafion out of Ireland, and more by the devifions which fhortly fhewed themfelves in Parliament, fpliting the party which appeared the moft zealous at firft for their Majefties government, upon the account of the feffion, whether out of tendernes for the common intereft of the fubject, or felf-defign, I leave it there, the fubfequent behaviour of that called the country party, making the latter seem the more probable, it was pre-

tended for King James, but certain it is, that it may be easily demonstrated, that the Court party (as it was called) drove their own more than the court interest, as happily, we shall have occasion to touch in the following relation : so that, on all sides, self-interest lay at the bottom.

The said Viscount of Tarbat proposed to the General a way which seemed to him likely enough to satisfy the Highlanders, so as that they should not trouble their Majesties government, viz. that the King should pay of all Argyles pretensions, not surpassing, as he affirmed, £5000 Sterling, excepting Macklean, for which, if the rest were brought off a medium might be found also upon the foot, that the late Earle of Argyle had formerly condescended ; which proposition the General liked so well, that he wrote of it to the Earle of Portland, from whom he also received an answer signifying, that the King was well pleased with the overture, and that the Viscount of Tarbat should see to get it adjusted : which letter, with one of his own, the General sent to the said Viscount, having received it upon his march to the north, but, as he was informed afterward, instead of employing Tarbat in that transaction with the Highlanders, touching Argyles pretensions, the government pitched upon the Laird of Calder, a Campbell to his name, and kinsman to the Earle of Argyle, in whom the Highlanders concerned, could not be supposed to repose so much trust, nor did his behaviour in after times, testify much that he meant very sincerely with the government, tho a privy counsellor. However, the General, during his abode in the North, having known the Kings mind as to the Viscount of Tarbats proposition, wrote to Lochiel at two several times, but had no return, notwithstanding that he proposed fairly to him under the present government ; he wrote also to a gentleman, chief of one of the families of the Macdonalds, called Glengary, who returned him a civil answer, but instead of hearkning to his propositions, proposed to him the example of General Monck to imitate, who restored King Charles : which broke clearly off all further thoughts and endeavours of accommodation by the General.

Dundee, as was touched above, being retired upon the Generals motion

from Elgin towards Inuerness into the Highlands, after he had consulted with some of the chiefs of the Highland clans, and draun assurances by letters from such as lay at further distance of their adherence to him and King James interest, having given them a time and place of rendezvous, passed with his horse at that time to the number of fourscore thorough the heights or braes of Badenoch into Athole, where he was friendly received by the gentlemen of that country, particularly by the Marquis's baillie, or steward of his lands, called Stuart of Balleachan ; from whence he marched to Perth, where he surpris'd the Laird of Blair, captain of horse, with his lieutenant, and two other foot officers, which he carried prisoners in all his marches for the matter of six weeks thereafter, sending them afterward to the Isle of Mull, where Blair, a gentleman of good consideration and zealous for the present government, after a great deal of ill and barbarous usage, died.

Dundee having ranged some days through the province of Angus and Perth, (both very ill affected,) and got the number of his horse augmented, which was his principal errand there, and braved two troops of Levingtons dragoons, left at Dundee under the lieutenant-colonel thereof, by which occasion he shewed, that he was either a traitor or a coward ; for notwithstanding, he was at least as strong as Dundee, and his horse in better case, he did not budge out of the town ; after, I say, Dundee had past some four days to fortify his body of horse with some gentlemen, and their servants which joined him, he retired into the Highlands by the same way he came, which made the General conclude that Athole play'd foul play, and falsified his engagement at their parting to him : Therefor considering his country henceforward as enemys, he dispatched several expresses to meet Ramsay with direction how to order his march, according as he should be informed of Dundees motion, judging, according to his intelligence, that if Ramsay should follow his orders, so as to have marched immediately after Balfour had received command to detach him, he might easily pass all hazard of being intercepted by Dundee, before he could have assembled a sufficient party to dare undertake it : and for the men of

Athole, besides that they had not openly declared themselves as yet, the Marquis with his eldest son being at Edinburgh. The General judged Ramsays party, such as he had ordered it, sufficient to secure their passage through that country, but being stopped (as was touched above) upon the alarm of the Hollands fishers two or three days, and the Generals messengers party being returned back for fear of the Atholemen, and the last of them being intercepted by the forementioned Stuart of Balleachan, kept prisoner in the Marquiss house three days, and the Generals letter sent to Dundee; Ramsay, after he had advanced within twelve miles of the place where the General had promised to meet him with his party to secure their junction, seeing the men of Athole in arms as he marched through their country, tho they attempted nothing upon him, who magnified extremely Dundees Highland forces, which they affirmed, tho falsely, were betwixt him and the General, from whom he received no late advertisement; withall being altogether a stranger to the Highlanders and their numbers, believed them to be really so formidable, that it should be no prudence in him, and as little safety to the service to hazard that party, and so returned with all diligence again to Perth. But the morning before his resolution of returning, he dispatched an express to the General, giving account of his being advanced so far, and his intention to lodge at Ruthven in Badenoch, where the General had placed a garison of countrymen: The following night which express coming to Inverness, on Saturday night at even, the General having ordered provisions only for two days for his party, and leaving some three or four hundred countrymen, under command of Balnagown, whose men they were mostly, for the guard of Inverness, marched out Sunday morning early with about 100 English horse, 140 dragoons, at most 200 old foot, and 200 Highlanders of the Lord Raes and Balnagowns men, in all about 640 men, having sent orders to the Lord Strathnaver to repair speedily to Inverness with all the ready men he had, as well as to the gentlemen of the Lord Raes family, to bring thither 200 men more of their best armed, which was punctually and speedily obeyed, and so after he had taken care

for the security of Inuerness, which he judged of great importance for the service, as much as his present bad enough circumstances would allow, he pursued his way with all diligence to meet with Ramfay, and secure their junction at all hazards, notwithstanding he had daily intelligence out of Lochaber, and could not learn as yet that Dundee had got any considerable number besides his horse together, not willing to spare any pains or neglect the reasonable methods of securing the service, as well as, because he could not make use for intelligence but of such as knew the Highlanders, and who might appear among them without suspicion, and by consequence Highlanders, whom he durst not thoroughly trust.

Dundee, having received by an express from the Marquis of Atholes steward the General's letters and directions to Ramfay, as well as intelligence that Ramfay was to be in Badenoch upon such a day, made what diligence he could to get a body of Highlanders, foot, joined to his horse capable to enterprize upon his party, (for at that time the Highlanders had more respect for our men than some few months thereafter,) marched out of Lochaber upon Saturday, at night, and entered into the braes of Badenoch, 12 miles above Ruthven, upon Sunday morning, with about 2000 men, which encreased shortly after to 1000 more, by which calculation of time we see, that if Ramfay had known the country himself, or had had knowing men with him, in whom he could repose trust, he might have been at Inuerness before Dundee entered Badenoch, for upon Saturday night he might have lodged at Ruthven; and if the enemy had approached him in Badenoch, he had a sure retreat to the Laird of Grant's country, whom the General had a little before ordered to leave his men together to the number of 7 or 800 for the same purpose, but the interception of the General's letters, wherein he had given him all necessary directions, occasioned the mistake, so that instead of Ramfay with his party, which he expected to meet with that day infallibly, the General, being advanced half way to Badenoch, met an express from the Commander of the Castle of Ruthven, with advertisement of Ramfay's return, and Dundee's entry into Badenoch, 10 or 12 miles above the said castle; whereupon,

coming to a halt, he considered the consequence, which naturally might be expected from his present circumstances, for he concluded the Marquis of Athole, with his people, enemies to the government, and looked upon that country as ready to join with Dundee; he expected no less of the Lord Lovets men, he himself being the Marquis's son-in-law, depending wholly on his advice; he looked upon the Earle of Seaforth's country and friends as slaves to their proper interest, ready to join with and obey the strongest, and that the men of Badenoch would follow the same measures with those of Athole. He considered that the loss of Inverness, which had for garrison but a few undisciplined Highlanders, to be a great advantage to the enemy; and, on the other hand, if he should return back to secure it, that Dundee would form such a party in the Duke of Gordons country, as well as in all the counties of Murray, Banff, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, and Perth, as should not only be too formidable for all the forces designed in Scotland, but would presently cut off all communication betwixt him and the south, from whence he could alone expect to be succoured, so that of two possible evils he chose the least and least apparent, and having dispatched expresses to Inverness, assuring them, that if the enemy should turn head that way they might freely expect him in his rear, exhorting them in such a case to a vigorous defence; as also to the Lord Strathnaver and the Lord Raes family to hasten thither the succours he had ordered. He changed his march, and falling to the left hand toward the Laird of Grants country, (who was present with him), called Strathspey, marched the rest of that day, and the whole ensuing night, to gain betwixt Dundee and the Duke of Gordons country, which was his nearest help, to cover the Laird of Grants interest, which lay next to the place where the enemy lay for the time, it being a necessary maxim in the war for such as would gain and keep friends never to abandon them without necessity. To gain betwixt Dundee and the south, to be master as well of the retreat in case of necessity as of the necessary succours, and to see if, by such a speedy and unexpected motion, he might happily meet with a favourable occasion to fall upon Dundees party in disorder and

stragling, to which that sort of people are very subject ; but so it was, that after a continued march of 24 hours, whereby he gained the plains of Strathspay, betwixt Dundee and the low country, and willing in the beginning of the war to try his fortune, not judging he hazarded much, being stronger than his enemy in horse, believing at that time his dragoons firm and resolute for the service, and so judging himself in such plain ground master of his retreat at the worst, he marched with all possible diligence and secrecy till he came within a mile and a half of Dundees camp, but found he lay round about with a wood, and a marsh within the wood, as in a double trench, whereby he saw there was nothing to be done that way, but because his foot was extremely weary and sleepy, he advanced near a pass, within a mile of the enemy, and there halted from four till ten in the morning, at which time, having put his party under arms, he marched to the pass to observe the countenance of the enemy, and to see if he would show himself, but in vain ; for the General was informed by some of their own number afterwards, that notwithstanding of that advantage of their camp, upon the first alarm of his approach, Lochiel retired about four miles to the hills, from his camp, with all the foot, and with such precipitation, that it looked more like a chase than a retreat, which doth justify the Generals thoughts of trying to surprise them, which he had certainly done were the ground such that he could have come in sight of them. Having then stayed at the foresaid pass till towards four of the clock in the afternoon, he judged, both for want of provisions and forage, and that he could not lodge securely near an enemy of that kind, whose advantage is that with which men usually secure their camps, as woods, marshes, and rough ground, withall, being so very unequal in number, that he ought to retire from them further, and so, having informed himself of the Laird of Grant, marched that night about four miles down the country, from whence he wrote to the government of his present bad circumstances, wherewith he charged principally the Marquis of Athole, concluding that his countrymen durst not behave as they had done, both in the friendly reception of, and the free passage and assurance of assistance to Dundee, with

the interception of his exprefs and orders to Ramfay, whom they had difcouraged by their falfe news, without the Marquis connivance, not fparing at the fame time the Vifcount of Tarbat, who, both at London and Edinburgh, had promifed great matters of his credit in the county of Rofs, efpecially with the name of Mackenzie, who can arm 1500 men, tho not of the moft refolute fort, yea, affuring the General, that tho the Earle of Seaforth, (who was with King James, and papift), fhould come to his own country, and among his friends, he, the faid Vifcount, would overturn in eight days more than the Earle could advance in fix weeks; whereby the General, finding at his coming north the difaffection of the Mackenzies, judged eafily that the Vifcount was not a friend, if not an ennemy to the government, to whom he reprefented him alfo for fuch. Whereupon the government fecured him as they would have done Athole, had he not gone to England, where the King, upon the Generals letter fent up by Duke Hamilton, caufed arreft him, and Tarbat being fet at liberty upon the writing a letter to his friends the gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, retired secretly into England and to London, where he found protection by his coufin-german, the Lord Melvill, fole fecretary of ftate for Scotland, who from that time forth, together with Tarbat, determined to lofe the General, as by the following relation fhall appear, tho with him fhould be loft at the fame time the Kings fervice, which has very near proved the effect of their malice. Whether defigned fo or not, betwixt them and God be it, who, to his name be the glory, gave their Majefties arms, entrusted to the General, fuccefs, fuitable to the juftice of the caufe, and the difinterefted zeal and unwearied endeavour wherewith he laboured to advance it, yea, far beyond what he could reafonably have propofed to himfelf, confidering the difficulties he had to wreftle with, not only from the ennemy, but much more from the government, and fuch as the King entrusted and benefited, (if it may be faid), only with the directions and advantages thereof.

The General, (to return to our relation), difpatched orders to the regiments of Barclays dragoons and Lellies foot, (who lay at Forfar and Cow-

per, in the county of Angus, being ordered down to Scotland upon a letter from him as he went to the north to St John Lanier, when the new levies, by the reasons above mentioned, did not succeed so very well,) to march out of their present quarters to the north, by the road of Cairnmonth, pursuing their way by the route he marked to them, till they should receive his further orders, being as yet uncertain where he should have occasion to join, since he judged himself upon the defensive, and so obliged to regulate matters according to the enemys measures. The orders for the march of those regiments he sent for dispatch sake, because the affair pressed, by one of the Laird of Grants tenants, recommended for a very trusty man, a Highlander, who was accustomed to trade in Strathdee and Braemar, where he was to pass as the shortest way, and was not therefore judged suspect to those people, who, since the Earle of Mar's death, favoured the rebels. But, to be sure, he sent other messengers every day by another road, and advertised the Master of Forbes and Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, to get together all the armed men they could, in case he were speedily obliged to retire before the enemy, who increased in number daily by the junction of such as would lay hold upon the occasion to rob and plunder, which Dundee was forced to give way to, if he would keep such a rabble together. Having dispatched those orders and letters, and informed himself of the most secure and convenient post in the Laird of Grants country, having regard to the security of his party, as well as means of forage for his horse, and provisions for the men, a summer duelling of Grants, where there were some meadows and fields of corn proper for the nature of the party, whose strength was most in horse, was pitched upon, whither he marched; the Laird of Grant furnishing him with some oat-meal and sheep for the men, with oats for the horse, who found little or nothing in the field, which made the English horse quickly lose their bellies and become useless many of them, and several of them died in that camp by scarcity of forage, and extraordinary cold weather, tho pretty far advanced in May. But the officers and men of that detachment of Colchesters regiment never repined, tho several times, during a month, that that chicane with

Dundee laisted, reduced to great wants of provisions and forage, notwithstanding the General took all the care possible to have it out of Murray and other places, who having posted himself at the foresaid summer duelling of the Laird of Grants, engaged of such trusty countrymen, as he recommended to him, 10 or 12 to be always coming and going toward the ennemy, who camped about five or six miles above him, upon the same river, being resolved to stay there till the ennemy drew nearer, who, seeing our party making mine to expect him, might happily take it to consideration, and expect the junction of more of his associates, before he would venture upon our post, which was advantageous for horse, whereby our succours, ordered north by the General, would have the more time to draw near; for as yet he believed not the general report, that Levingstons dragoons were ill affected to the service; where, for mark of his trust to them, he sent some days before, order to Lieutenant Colonel Levingston to repair to the north with the two troops of the said regiment which was left with him at Dundee, and joined the party at his post called Colmnakill, which was so covered behind with the river of Spey, and before with woods and marshes, with a little river to the right very rough and stony; within which avenues there was a pretty spacious plain proper, as the General judged, for his horse to gallop through those Highland foot, who apprehend nothing so much as horse in the midst of this plain. Grant had as much housing as could cover our foot. The General kept the whole party by their arms, and the horse saddled and bridled in the night time, besides small guards of horse and dragoons, for advertisement, pretty far advanced in the woods, and foot along the little river which covered his quarter to the right, so that he could not be surprized, tho' his spies should not serve him faithfully, whereof some came in every two hours at least. Beside those advantages of this post we had a safe retreat down the river, in case the General might judge that the surest for the service. Two days after the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Livingston by the party, two deserters came into our quarter from Dundee, who being brought to the General, he examined them, demanding

why they had left Dundee, for one of them had been a ferjant in Wachop's regiment in England, and deserted after Sir David Collier was made Colonel of it, carrying three more with him, which made the General suspect him the more, telling him he lookt on him as sent from Dundee to spy his camp, and that he should be treated accordingly, if he would not give a better account of himself. Whereat the fellow desired to speak with him alone ; so all officers being commanded out of the room, except Sir Thomas Livingston, he told the General that he was betrayed by his own men, and being asked who they were, he named Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, Captain Murray, Livingston, Crichton, and several others, few excepted, (but the Colonel, the Major, and Captain Balfour,) of all the dragoon officers, who were not actually in the plott, or had less or more communication of it. And being further enquired what proofs he had of these assertions ; he answered, (as did also his comrade) that beside that Dundee usually assured his Highland Chiefs of Clans, that he was sure of the dragoons, but that it was not yet time to call them, being more useful to him where they were ; that he saw him read letters from his Lady to the same purpose, naming particularly the forementioned officers, together with one Lieutenant Murray of the same regiment, a young debauched fellow, but one of the activest instruments in that plot.

Whereupon the General, having heard all they had to say, told them he would send them to the Laird of Grants house of Bala Castle (where garrison was kept) to be kept in civil imprisonment, and well entertained, till he should have occasion to discover the truth of the matter, with assurance of recompence, if their intelligence were found true, and exemplar punishment in case it should be discovered that they were sent by Dundee of purpose to make the dragoons suspect, and consequently useless to him ; whereat they appeared to be well satisfied ; which made the General believe the more what they had attested ; withall they appeared to the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, the Captain and Lieutenant of horse which Dundee had surprized at St. Johnstoun a little before, then prisoners in his camp, with whose communication they had left Dundee

to carry over that intelligence, lest we should venture in action with so small a party, whereof such a considerable part were traitors.

The prisoners being removed to Bala Castle, the General consulted Sir Thomas Livingston concerning his regiment, who told him that he did not believe the dragoons knew any thing of the plot, except it were very few; but he himself did begin to suspect the behaviour of the forenamed officers, particularly after the Lieutenant-Colonels junction with the two troops, for that they were usually serious together; but that always upon his appearance near them, the matter, whatever it might be, was hushed up, which fortified the General in the opinion they were rogues; however, he resolved to stay in his camp till the enemy drew nearer, upon the following reasons, that every day which he stay'd there was gain'd to him, because it drew nearer the expected succour which he had ordered, and lost to Dundee, because it hindered his communication with those places whereout of he expected his speediest and best reinforcement, particularly in horse, which he wanted most, and that he judged, if he should presently retire, that he must needs be obliged to repass the hills before the two forementioned regiments could join him, and so leave all the north to Dundee, where he would presently have such a party, both of horse and foot, as should not only be too formidable for any reinforce expected at that time, but also for any thing he could put together in the nation against him, considering the diversion which the Castle of Edinburgh, the securing that of Stirling, the guarding of the government at Edinburgh, and the apprehensions both of a landing from Ireland, and a rising upon the borders, occasioned. These reasons then considered, the General resolved to stay in the post, after communication and advice of Sir Thomas Livingston, Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan, who commanded the detachment of foot he had from the three Dutch regiments, and the Laird of Grant, who had been useful to him, both as to the helping him to faithful intelligencers and messengers, as also, with some provisions and oats for the horses at first, till it was got out of Murray by the Generals peremptory orders, which they durst not refuse, not knowing how matters would go.

At this time Dundee blockt by a detachment from his Highland army, which was judged now about 3000 men, the old castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, where the English kept a garrison all the time they were in Scotland, and where the General at his first arrival at Inverness had placed one John Forbes, brother to Colodine, Captain in the regiment which Grant was to levy, a resolute brisk young man, and very well affected to the interest, with about 60 men of Grants Highlanders; whom Dundee knowing to want provisions, by a letter of his which he intercepted, surpris'd him in that condition; for such as had the charge to furnish him neglected it too long, and he being a young soldier did not think of the next best remedy, viz. to take from the inhabitants, when the security of his post did absolutely require it. This gentleman, having no subsistence, was forced to render the house which Dundee burnt, but capitulated for his own and his garrison's liberty, and having been carried through Dundees camp, did see their horses saddled, and all preparing for a march, and being licentiated he met upon the way to our post, and a mile from the enemys camp, two men on horseback, the one clothed in blue, and the other in red, whereof he in blue challenged Captain Forbes in French with a "*Qui vive*," who returning "*Vive le Roy Guillaume*;" the other said he had presently been commanded out of our post to get news of the enemy, and notwithstanding, Forbes told him he would run hazard of being caught by Dundees men, he nevertheless pursued on his way; whereof the Captain having informed the General at his arrival by him as he was at dinner, he presently caus'd make inquiry who had sent any horse or dragoons abroad, and if they wanted any of their number clothed blue, persuading himself it was with intelligence from the officers of dragoons to Dundee; for he had given no order for sending out any for intelligence; for beside, that the English horse were much ruined, so that they could not make parties, they were strangers in the country, and the dragoons he trusted no more; so that he relayed mostly upon Grants men as to information of the enemy.

Presently upon this advice, some of the spies coming in, gave notice that

the ennemy was in motion towards us ; whereupon the General called for the commanding officers, ordering them to put their men under arms, and to draw out upon the plain, calling the Laird of Grant to him ; to whom he said, that it was with regret he left his country exposed to the ravage of the rebels, which nevertheless he hoped should be but for a very few days, and therefor willed him to cause his tenents remove their cattle down the country out of the ennemys way, who, in all appearance being encouraged by his retreat, would follow upon his rear, by which means his people, for the greater part, might happen to escape good cheap. To which Grant replied, that, tho all his interest should be lost thereby, he would not wish him to make one step to the prejudice of their Majesties service.

The General did not judge it as yet expedient to discover any thing of his jealousy of the dragoons ; therefor, because he usually made them march in the front and rear of his party, he continued the same order, only he put the Majors and Captain Balfours companies behind, and the Colonels with the other four companies in the front, that his presence might overawe the ill affected officers. He placed next the two troops of dragoons the 200 foot of the three Dutch regiments, most of them grenadiers ; next to them the English horse, scarcely 70 strong at this time ; and betwixt them and Sir Thomas Livingston, who led the march, 200 brisk Highlanders of the Lord Raes and Balnagowns men, and dismissed what men of Grants were together, to the end they might do their best to defend their houses against stragglers of the ennemy, and remove their cattle out of their way, since he was not in a condition to protect them ; and continuing in order, as above, till it was obscure with the night, began his march when he knew that the ennemy was within three short miles of him, who, by this means, could not readily know the certainty of his retreat that night no more than the way he retired by, because he had three ways to avoid engagement ; one towards Inverness, which Dundee, not knowing his reasons, might readily believe his likeliest way ; the second, which was the nearest to join the succours by twelve

miles through Strathdown and Glenlivet, by which, if Dundee had understood the country and his trade to have informed himself exactly thereof, he might have gained betwixt our party and the regiments which we expected from the south, and put the General to a hard pull; who, tho he perceived the feasibility of such a fashious accident, durst not resolve to march through an ennemys country all Papiſts, with an ennemy four times his number in his rear; besides that the foresaid way was very disadvantageous for horse, in case of the ennemys approach; so committing to the providence of God, (against whom there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsell can succeed), he took his way down the river with hungry horse and men, tho resolute, particularly Colchester's horse and the 200 fusileers upon whom he relied most, and marching by a gentlemans house called Grant of Ballandalach, who was with Dundee, made no halt till he came to a place called Balvany, where he was forced to settle himself till he should gett some bread for his men and oats for the horse; where, having met with Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie with the country foot, he furnished him with men to send out for intelligence, of whom he dispatched some by the way he came, and others by the way where he apprehended that Dundee would labour to cut betwixt him and his succours; who came in next morning with news that he had not quitted Strathspey as yet. Whereat the General being very well satisfied, sent nevertheless presently again others out the same way, and ordered a party of 12 dragoons to be sent out by the way he had marched off, being in the greatest impatience in the world to have in some provisions and oats, which came at last about five of the clock at night. But the General seeing none of those he had sent out in the morning return, notwithstanding both officers and souldiers grumbled, he would not stay till they had given their horse corn, and till the souldiers had got some bread baked. He marched the party off in the same order he had done the day before; and having past a little river, the matter of a mile above the place he camped in, by that time he had marched about an halfmile on the other side, Sir Thomas Livingston, who happened to be a little

behind, discovered the ennemy on the other side, that is, the side we lodged on before, and marching straight to the same ground we came from, and to the ford where we past. The General having ordered Lieutenant Colonel Livingston to continue a good pace, who then happened to be the first officer at the head, galloped back to the place from whence they discovered the ennemy; and having dispatched Sir Thomas Livingston to lead the party, with orders to continue a constant pace, such as should neither weary the soldiers nor lose time, he placed himself with about 50 or 60 horse and dragoons upon an height in view of the ennemy with his nephew, major to Livingston, and the Master of Forbes, who joined him there with about 50 horse; which the ennemy perceiving, came to a halt to gather up their stragglers, and form themselves in battalions, or rather by clans. Mean time the General detached his nephew to a hill which lay to his left, about a quarter of a mile, from whence being towards the enemys flank as they should pass the river, he could get a nearer and a more just view of their force; but seeing the ennemy design to act betwixt him and Major Mackay, he called him presently back again. The ennemy having got up their men, past the river first with their horse, which we judged at distance about 150, who imbattelled themselves to cover and favorise the passage of their foot, which also they imbattelled as they past, and so their baggage. Mean time the General perceived them to begin to set forward after sunset, and judging now his party about two miles in head, he turned his horses head, saying to the officers which were with him, 'tis long enough stayd here, 'tis better to step, then gallop off. But Major Mackay being intent upon the motion of the ennemy, and not hearing the General order to march off, staid there behind a little, wherein he failed very little of being intercepted, and marching after at a good rate, he espied a party of 12 horse, which appeared more because of the twilight, to the Generals left along the face of an hill, which supposing of Dundees horse, made him cry halt, to advertise the General: Who turning about, and seeing his nephew galloping after him, judged he had some of the ennemy in his

croop, which obliged him to fend orders after the party to make Colchester's detachment halt in the first plain spot of ground, ordering the rest to continue their march, being very ill pleased with his nephew for staying behind him, whereby, if the ennemy were undertaking, he might happen to engage him mal-a-propos ; but the horse which alarmed the Major was the serjant with 12 dragoons of Livingstons regiment, which were sent out in the morning for intelligence, and who, hapning to be the Lieutenant-Colonels serjant, and concerned in the plot, designed to bring the ennemy upon us in our quarters, as it was afterwards discovered, the same being the man in blue which Captain Forbes had met within a mile of Dundees camp, the day the General marched off, which as yet was not known, so that the fellow pretended to have run great hazard of the ennemy, and to have marched far about to be free of them.

Sir Thomas Livingston, then having got the alarm that the General was engaged, drew up all the party in order to wait for orders, which he presently ordered to march, being dissatisfied at the halt : but no man could find out the author of the alarm ; so continuing his march till he had past the River of Bogie, where he was necessitate to come to an halt at four of the clock in the morning, neither horse nor foot being able to march farther ; there he caused distribute the oats and oat meal, which had been got up in the former camp, and did let the horse feed upon a spot of corn in the mens hands. Mean time he received news to his great satisfaction, that Barclay and Lesly would join him that day, so to play sure game, after two hours rest, he marched three miles further toward his succours, putting a very ill pass betwixt him and Dundee, and posted himself at the foot of an hill called Suy Hill, upon the common road from the south to the north, over which he expected the foresaid two regiments, and from whence he could discover two miles to all hands and ways by which the ennemy could approach him, who all this while knew nothing of the reinforcement he expected, contrary to the Generals apprehension, who judged, by reason, that all the countries by which they past, were affected to the ennemys party ; he could not be ignorant of those regi-

ments march northward. But God, who over-rules all the actions of the creatures, preserved singularly that small handful of men beyond all expectation, considering the strength of the enemy, and that of 600, 200 (in which consisted our greatest advantage were they trusty to the service) were to be considered as enemies: For, in the first place, had Dundee accepted of it, the General had engaged in action with him in all appearance, the first day he came near, having then opinion of the dragoons that they would fight, as happily he had done, had Dundee attacked him at Culnakeill before the spies discovered the plot of the dragoons to him; in which case he had certainly, without a miracle, been beat, which would be naturally of sad consequence to the government; for all benorth Tay (which is far the more formidable half of Scotland as to the war, except a few families which would be forced to follow the same measures, or be ruined, beside all the borders on both sides) would declare for King James, if afterward Dundee had got intelligence of the march of Barclay and Lesly, as the General apprehended, and had immediately, upon the assurance he had of our officers of dragoons, marched the shortest way along the foot of the hills toward Cromar and Bognie, he could not fail either of beating Lesly or Barclay, who lodged four miles distant from each other Monday night, or both happily, or tho he had no knowledge of their march, or prospect of beating up their quarters, it was absolutely his game being so much superior in force, having intelligence with a considerable part of ours, the neighbouring hills for sure retreat in all cases, and being favoured of the country; I say, considering those advantages, it was absolutely his part and true maxim to get betwixt the General and the south, it being easily conjectured, that if there were any forces in the kingdom, he would order some to his succour, and his very motion southward might teach so much to a cunning enemy, beside that the cutting the Generals communication with the government and the principal force of the kingdom, could not but be of notable consequence and advantage to Dundee, and disadvantage to the government, whereby we may see the hand of providence very visible in this escape of so inconsiderable a party, whose

defeat at that time would naturally draw difficulties upon the government not easily to be redressed, by the reasons above mentioned, as well as the divisions which already began to discover themselves in that very party which carried the convention in favour of their Majesties government, whereby we should learn to be modest when it pleaseth God to bless the service in our hands, which the most experienced and clear sighted in their profession will have reason to do, if they examine impartially themselves, either as to their judgement, diligence and resolution, wherein they shall find enough to humble them in themselves, and move them to give the glory to God; beside, that if we project and design any thing which the issue doth justify as advantageous to the interest we serve, we ought to attribute the design, as well as the favourable success thereof to God, in whom all his creatures do live, move and have their being, and whose gift it is when men have the spirit of their calling, is, as we see by the example of Saul, David and others, to whom God gave spirit conform to the dignity he called them to, a double blessing, when it is given in the fear of the Lord, and continuall dependance upon his fatherly goodness to instruct and strengthen us in our profession, so as denying all self and private regards, to carry on the service wherewith we are intrusted with Christian sincerity, and unwearied zeal and diligence according to the apostle, serving our Masters not with eye service, but as the service of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart.

The General being come to the foot of Suy Hill, where he expected that day the junction of Barclay and Lesly, and was out of all hazard of being engaged or cut from his expected succours by Dundee, he let his party repose, tho not much refresh themselves, having little or no provisions; wherefor he sent to the Lord Forbes's house, two miles off, to see if any bread could be had, or quickly baked of oat meal, to supply his hungry soldiers, the horse getting something now in the fields to pick at, where order was given to prepare some bread; but the Generals speedy march that night towards Dundee disappointed us of that supply. Barclay being arrived at 12 o'clock, and Lesly towards six in the afternoon, having

a long march that day upon the reiterated pressing orders which the General sent to hasten them. He resolved as soon as the night should hinder the flight of his motion from the tops of the neighbouring hills, to march straight to the enemy, which he did after ten of the clock; the day in those northern parts of Scotland in that season of the year being very long, which accordingly he did, after he had given their posts to all the troops, setting the 200 Fusileers of the three Dutch regiments at the head of all, by reason of the night and strait ways, not discovering any thing of jealousy of the dragoons as yet, except to the Colonel and Major. But the enemy being about eight miles off, as he supposed, upon the lands of Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, (which, with the house they had wholly destroyed), and because of the shortness of the night he could not propose to himself to surprise them in body, because of their sentries by day time upon the tops of the hills; but the Highlanders serving more for plunder than affection to the service, cannot be kept from stragling over the face of the country, as well in their marches as camping, particularly when they were not paid, nor no general method taken for their subsistence: so he hoped if they could not get them in a body, he might catch some of them, and discourage the whole.

But the traitorous officers of dragoons prevented him by dispatching two dragoons off in the night to give them advertisement, who, with others of the enemies, not being able to follow their body, were got hid in a wood beside Edinglassie's house, which proved the most clear evidence of their treachery thereafter; for some countrymen having advertised Edinglassie, that the enemy was dislodged, for the General would not advance detachments at any considerable distance, both because of the roughness of the ground, whereby the retreat would be difficult to him if attacked by the enemy, and because he would not have them alarmed, if happily he might come near with his whole force before they had notice of it, at least so as to have time to call in their stragglers; Edinglassie, I say, being advertised of their retreat, and that there were yet some stragglers about his house, rode off with the Master of Forbes, Major Mackay,

and some others, and got two dragoons of our own, as above, hid in the woods, with a servant and a boy belonging to one Captain Bruce, formerly Captain-Lieutenant in Livingstons dragoons in time of King James and several Highlanders. The servant and the boy being examined, confessed that the serjeant mentioned above, who had been commanded out with 12 dragoons to get news of the enemy, had been in Dundees camp, had spoke with the Lord Dundee apart, and that immediately thereafter the said Dundee had ordered the march, which was at the same time Captain Forbes had met with him. The two dragoons also confessed so much, that the General finding his party now augmented, judged expedient to seize the persons of Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, with the other suspected officers of Livingstons regiment, which done he marched after the enemy to Balvany that night, and next day to Culnakeill, from whence he had retired five days before, where having got notice that a party of the enemy was on the other side of the river, he ordered Livingston to command out 200 dragoons, who himself understanding that the Laird of Grant had been prest by the enemy, went out with Lieutenant-Colonel Haully of Barclays regiment, and Major Mackay, with a greater number than the General had commanded; who, in the mean time knowing Dundee not to be far off, kept the rest of the party under arms, either to sustain Livingston, if he should have met with a greater number than was expected, or to oppose Dundee, if, upon notice of a considerable detachment, he should resolve to fall in his quarter, for he was still stronger in number than we, tho the General esteemed his party more formidable by the inequality of horse and dragoons.

Livingston being marched about two miles fair ground from the river, met with 500 men of the enemy, who, by the indiscretion of his adjutant riding before about a quarter of a mile, had got the alarm so soon, that (notwithstanding he galloped all the way after them, when he got discovery of them) they gained the foot of a great steep hill before he could join them, by which means they escaped him with the loss only of about 80 or 100 men, whereas, if the adjutant had been so prudent when he

had discovered the ennemy, to retire without noise to give his colonel an account thereof, not one of them had escaped in this little occasion. Livingstons dragoons shewed a great deal of forwardness to rub off the affront occasioned by their officers, as did also the English dragoons of Barcklay. There was of our side a captain of Barcklays regiment, with six dragoons of both the regiments killed, and some wounded. Mean time of this skirmish, news came to the General that Livingston was unequally engaged against Dundees, whose force, (tho he did not believe him in any hazard, since he had double the number of Dundees horse with him, and so was always master of a sure retreat, stepping so that the foot could not attain, nevertheless, to neglect nothing, and to see if happily Dundees misfortune might have engaged him in that plain ground,) past the river with all the rest of the party, but met Livingston a mile on the other side upon his return to the quarter, whither he also returned with the whole, sending next day the rest of Colchester's detachment into Murray, with orders to repair southward to join the rest of the regiment, the north of Scotland being scarce of good forrage for such large horses, and to carry along with them, in sure custody, the officers of dragoons which were made prisoners.

Colonel Ramfay, as hath been said above, having retired upon the alarm of the great numbers of the Highlanders to St. Johnstoun, again sent for new orders to the council, giving them account of the reason of his return, who ordered a detachment of 100 dragoons of Barcklays regiment (before it had received the Generals orders to march to the north) 200 men of Levins, and 100 of Haftings regiment to join him, with which he marched again through Athole and Badenoch to Inuerness.

Of which march, if the General had had timely advertisement, he might have given Ramfay such directions that Dundee would have much ado to disembarraiss himself of both, but he got the notice of it so late, that he was past the place where Ramfay could have hindered him, before he could come the length from Inuerness, upon the orders sent to him to that effect. Withall he had orders to bring some provisions along with him,

which hindered his march some what, notwithstanding the General did judge that he could not engage Dundee, and that he saw no way to secure himself of provisions in those rough and boggy countries, where no waggon or carts could possibly follow. Nevertheless, not willing to quite the pursuit of him till he had forced his piece-meal forces to enter Lochaber again, having joined Ramfay he marched up Strathspey, and into Badenoch, both lying upon the same river of Spey, having before sent orders to Inverness to get some meal to Ruthen in Badenoch, which was so long a coming, that the forces wanted provisions 24 hours before he could retire, till he was certified so well by his spies as by a party of 100 dragoons, which he sent after them till within 10 miles of Lochaber, that the Highlanders were dispersed every one to his own house; whereupon he sent Barcklays regiment to Strathbogy, an house belonging to the Duke of Gordon, where there was grass for some weeks, Ramfay with the detachment of the three Dutch regiments to Elgin, in the county of Murray, and took Livingstons regiment of dragoons, Leslie of foot, with 300 of Levin and Hastings regiments, and the 200 Highlanders with him to Inverness, where he staid the matter of a fortnight, to see if the enemy would undertake any thing further, and to settle the necessary orders.

By this time several companies of the Lord Strathnavers and Grants regiments were levied, but being without cloaths, arms or discipline, the General laid no stress upon them for the security of those northern parts; but considering all the counties beneath Spey, except that of Sutherland, (comprehending the Earle of Sutherlands and the Lord Raes countries,) and the Lairds of Balnagown and Grants men, either disaffected, or such as could not be made state upon, he resolved to leave Sir Thomas Livingston to command there in chief, and for forces, his own regiment with Sir James Leslie, the 300 of Levins, and Hastings regiments, and the 200 Highlanders, besides what he could make of the new levies, and upon occasion could call for out of the county of Sutherland, and from Balnagown, and Grant; having at his return to Inverness writ to Duke Hamil-

ton as the Kings Commiffioner in parliament, that he faw no way to fubdue the Highlanders, confidering their country was full of mountains, bogs, woods and difficult paffes with inaccessible retiring places, where it was impoffible to hunt them out, as well as to fubfift a fortnight in fuch barren and defart countries, but by placing a formidable garrifon at Innerlochy, with other fmaller ones in their places; therefore wifhed that his Grace, with the Parliament and Council, would take it to confideration fpeedily before the feafon were further fpent, to provide the neceffary materials for fuch a defign againft his arrival in the fouth, whither, feeing the ennemy attempt no farther, he moved, toward the 20th of June, with the detachment of the three Dutch regiments, only after he had given to Sir Thomas Livingfton fome general idea of the matters of the north by way of inftruction, recommending the improvement thereof to his own judgment, according to the dayly occurrences, leaving the regiment of Barcklay in the county of Aberdeen, with orders to chufe quarters where they could beft fubfift; but judging the houfe of Braemarr a very fitt place for a garrifon, becaufe that it was far advanced in the Highlands, and covered the forefaid county of Aberdeen; with all to bridle the Marr men, who had already difcovered their affection to the ennemys party, he difpatched 50 horfe, 50 dragoons of Barcklays, with 60 foot, and fome provifions, to take poffeffion thereof, with a written order to the captain of dragoons to push forward with the horfe and dragoons, leaving the foot to follow with the provifions: and having put 20 of his dragoons in the houfe in paffing, marched forward without halt, and before day, to the houfe of Innerey, three miles further, with all the diligence and fecretly poffible, whereby he might readily furprize them, with feveral other gentlemen of note, who, upon the feparation of Dundees party, retired that way. But inftead of following his order when he had got into the houfe, he flayed till he had refrefhed his horfes, whereby day furprifed him before he had got the length of his prey, which efaped him neverthelefs fo narrowly, that he got fight of them running in their fhirts to a wood near the houfe where they were; whereby we are taught that the leaft minute

of time is not to be neglected in the war, because the delay can never be so small but it may overturn the enterprize, and that all neglects therein ought to be punished according to the importance of the disappointed design ; whereby men, who do not their duty for conscience, may be taught to do it for the fear of punishment. Nevertheless, tho' the neglect was of importance to the service, and the behaviour of the commanders of the party, after the missing of that prey, looked very faint-hearted, the General judged not seasonable to take much notice of it, but dissembled his thoughts, because one of the captains was a stranger, and the other the Master of Forbes, a young youth, whom he hoped to make useful to the service, tho' as yet small before his enemy, having never seen any.

Innerey and his guests having escaped this lurch, sent with all speed messengers out to gather the country people to take the passes before horse and dragoons, and to incommode them in their retreat, while they retiring after their disappointment to the House of Braemar, set their horses loose a grazing, and very securely laid themselves down to sleep about the house ; whither Innerey, approaching with a few men to a rock above, and within a musket shot to it, awakened them with his fire, at which their horses so startled, that after much ado to have caught them, without expecting to be attacked, forsook the house, and galloped all their best down the country ; whereof Innerey laying hold, burnt the house to free them of the neighbourhood of a garrison. The party of foot being advertised of this retreat, took itself to a gentlemen's house, with the convoy of provisions of meal, malt and some ammunition, and dispatched an express after the General, (who continued his march southward) to give him account of the ill success of the party, who, knowing that the adverse party would make a great noise of that seeming advantage, notwithstanding of his great haste to Edinburgh to put life in the design of Innerlochy, and that he had not a days bread with him for his party, nor could he expect any that time of the year in that Highland country, resolved to turn of his road to redress that little disorder, tho' all this while he was so weak, not being re-

covered of the sickness he got at his landing in England as yet, that he could not but with great inconveniency keep himself on horseback.

Having then dispatched account of this little diversion to Duke Hamilton, entreating the necessary preparations, whereof he marked the particulars, should be made for the expedition of Lochaber, and given order for a weeks provision for his party (not exceeding 500 men) to follow him, he marched away in the afternoon, and continuing his way all night, joined the sixty foot which he had detached for the garrison of the House of Braemarr, about ten o'clock next morning, after he had dispatched orders to Barcklays dragoons to march up the River of Dee by a plain country between hills, (commonly called Strath in Scotland,) while he, with his foot marched straight over the hills: For he judged that the enemy would expect such a motion, and therefore would gather what party they could together, to catch an opportunity in that ground too favourable for that sort of people against regular forces, if his party were not formidable enough to overaw them; and having joined the dragoons, together with the Master of Forbes, and some store of meal for the providing of a garrison for some months, he marched up to the House of Braemarr, where, finding it burnt, and the vaults incapable to lodge any number of men conveniently, after the burning of Innereys house, with all his lands, descended the river to Abergeldie, where he lodged 72 men of his detachment under the command of a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensigne; which small number kept a 1000 from doing of any considerable prejudice to the government. Which being done, he sent the dragoons, with the Master of Forbes's troop, to their former quarters down the same river, and with the rest of his foot party, past the hills into the county of Angus, straight to Edinburgh, where he arrived about the beginning of July, and found not the least dispositions made for the design he proposed, viz. the placing of a garrison at Innerlochy, as the only means appearing to his judgment capable to subdue the rebels, to which there must needs a Fort be built. But there being no means to be provided of materials for such a work, it being impossible to

have them made time enough for that year, because the rains begin soon in the Highlands, the General proposed in council to have 1500 pioneers levied out of the northern countries, each of whom should be obliged to carry his spade, shovel or pickaxe along with him, and to furnish a months provision of meal, with horses to carry it, as well for 400 men, which he designed to employ to that expedition. As for the pioneers, a proposition (tho no other could be offered at that time) which, understanding the nature of the enterprize better afterwards, he easily discovered to prove necessarily ineffectual, not only because the pioneers so provided of materials could not be furnished, and that, tho that difficulty were to be overcome, it was impossible to get subsistence to the forces for half the time, which must needs have been employed to make the fort, there being no foregoing measures taken to send it by sea, much less to get the garrison provided of cover for the ensuing winter, or supplied with provisions, tho all the rest were feasible. All which difficulties were mostly occasioned by the courts neglecting the Generals proposals shortly after his landing, to have three small frigates sent down to him to facilitate all designs to be formed against those rebels who inhabited the north-west coasts and islands of that kingdom, and were separated from the rest thereof by a spacious distance of country full of bogs, hills, lakes, woods and inaccessible rocks, where a small number of people knowing the ground, with the advantages of the passes and difficult ways, might easily have rendered them impracticable to a far greater number of better forces in plain ground; because the Highlanders, with the prospect of a very inconsiderable loss, can in such ground approach a strong enemy marching through their country to watch an opportunity, being sure of their retreat, tho they happened to be repulsed, because none but men clothed and armed as they themselves could overtake them; so that the General confessed thereafter that his defeat saved in a manner his reputation, because if the rebels proved opiniater, as we have reason to believe by what we saw of them afterward, he could have done nothing but return back again with his

finger in his cheek, if he would not starve all his forces: nay, he could scarcely have carried along subsistence enough to carry him thither and back again tho he should make no stay: Whereby he confessed that the whole design, considering the inability, ignorance and little forwardness of the government to furnish the necessary ingredients for the advancement of their service, was built upon a sandy foundation, and much like the building of castles in the air; but his impatience to see an end of that war which was so contrary to his humour, and not knowing all the circumstances of that enemy, as to the nature of their country, particular numbers of men which each of the combined rebels was able to bring out, nor yet their way of, nor firmity in, fighting, no more than the unconcerned method of the government in matters which touch them nearest as to their general safety, each being for his particular, and fixt upon his private projects, so as neither to see nor be concerned for any thing else; I say, the Generals ignorance of these particulars as yet being thirty years a stranger to that kingdom, with his desire to be quickly rid of that embarrass, occasioned that he easily flattered himself with the success of that design at first, tho he soon (tho too late, being already embarked in it) saw that it must needs prove fruitless for that year, tho he should have met with no other opposition from the enemies, but to persist in their rebellion, and only keep themselves out of his way with their cattle, which they might easily do, the nature of their country furnishing them abundance of convenience thereto. But besides all those difficulties, which were too sufficient to frustrate the design for that year, the government kept above three weeks at Edinburgh after his return from the north, ere they could condescend upon a way to carry forth a fortnight's provisions for 400 men only; which certainly proved the occasion that he did not prevent Dundee, by securing the country of Athole, Badenoch, and some others of the nearest Highlands, before he could be in a posture to oppose it; the government being so ill composd at that time, that the enemy was advertisd of all our measures by such as voted them in Council, to which those delays gave them con-

venience enough. About this time King James being advertised that the Highlanders would lose their patience, seeing the so often renewed promises of succours like to fail for good and all, commanded Brigadier Cannon with 500 Irish to embark upon three small French frigates at Belfast in Ireland for the succour of Dundee, with large promises to make them quickly be followed by a greater number; who, having upon their way met two little Scots vessels armed for the guard of that coast, and to hinder the passage of Irish into the Highlands, forced them and landed their men safely in the Isle of Mull, from whence they joined Dundee with his party. I forgot in its place to show how that the General, finding himself with so few forces in the North, pressed by a strong party of the enemy, and betrayed by a considerable part of his own little party, wrote to the Council to order two or three of the new levied regiments with some troops of the horse and dragoons, to the county of Argyle, under the command of the Earle of that name, who could join a considerable number of his vassals, upon occasion, to them to form a diversion, by falling in into parts of the enemies countries to withdraw some of them from pursuing their point so hotly towards the north.

Before the General's return, the castle of Edinburgh was rendered by capitulation to Sir John Lanier, who upon his letter, as was traced above, had come to Edinburgh to command in the south in his absence, and to call for some more regiments out of England, in case of any stirrs in that part of the kingdom, or of a landing out of Ireland, King James being at that time master of all that kingdom, except Londonderry and Inchkillin, and having the gross of his force in the northern parts thereof, from whence there is but a very short passage of some hours over to the southwest parts of Scotland.

The General then having resolved to carry only six battalions of foot, making at most 3000 men, with four troops of horse, and as many dragoons, new levies with him for that expedition, with intention to join Argyle with what forces he commanded in his country, if the service so required, ordered the rendezvous of the said forces, the foot consisting

of a battalion of each of the three Dutch regiments, with the Viscount Kenmores, Earle of Levens and Hastings regiments, the two latter not compleat, because of detachments they had in the north at Perth, taking his way thither over Stirling, both to see the castle and some regiments of foot with troops of horse and dragoons of the new levies which lay that way. But some few days before his departure from Edinburgh, he was advertised by the Lord Murray, eldest son to the Marquis of Athole, that his fathers steward Balleachan, with some gentlemen of the county of Angus, adherents of Dundee's party, were fortifying themselves in the house of Blair Athole to secure that country the better for King James's interest, resolving to defend it against the Lord Murrays order, the Marquis being at this time in England. Murray being Duke Hamiltons son-in-law, the General desired to speak with him of those matters, in presence of the Duke, where he declared that he had no hopes of persuading the men of Athole to join with the Kings forces against Dundee, their inclination being more for King James than their Majesties government, but engaged to do his best to render himself master of the castle of Blair before Dundee could be there; to which end, and to hinder them from joining Dundee, he was to go to Athole and gather all his fathers vassals together, believing that Balleachan and the tenants he had with him durst not deny him entry in his own house; to which the General answered, that he desired no more of my Lord Murray, than to keep his men from joining against him, promising to make all possible haste to prevent Dundee, being resolved to take the country of Athole in his way to Lochaber; but by the delays of government in the furnishing of meal, as well as of horses for the transport thereof, he was detained at Edinburgh eight or ten days after the Lord Murray went to Athole, who advertised him of having the men of his country together, as also of Balleachans refusal to deliver the castle of Blair into his hands, and that on the contrary he had dispatched messengers to Dundee to hasten him up to his succour, as well as that of his other friends, who seemed to be blockt up in the castle of the Lord Murray.

The General not questioning the sincerity of the said Lord, both because he was married to Duke Hamiltons daughter (a lady very zealous for the presbyterian interest, as was the dutchess her mother) and of some years not living in very good understanding with the Marquis his father, of whom at this time the General had no favourable opinion, prest with all earnestness his dispatch (tho he began already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in gross) to secure at least the country of Athole with others adjacent, from casting themselves headlong in the adverse party, which he pretended to do by forcing the gates of the castle of Blair, where he intended to leave a strong garrison, and for that end ordered four petards to be carried to the rendezvous place; and having visited the pass and castle of Stirling, and ordered the troops of horse and dragoons, which were to be of the expedition to follow him to Perth or St. Johnston, one of the first towns of the kingdom, situated in the entry of the Highlands, about the 22d or 23d of July, where a letter from the Lord Murray was shown him, giving account of Dundees being in Badenoch on his march to Athole, whither Balleachan had so solicited his speedy repair, that he left several gentlemen, whose junction he expected, behind him, to be in Athole before our forces, adding, that if the General did not hasten his march to prevent Dundee, he would not promise to get his men kept from joining the latter. Upon which information he considered that if he stopt at Perth, Dundee would not only be reinforced with the men of Athole, making 1500 as reputed men for arms as any of the kingdom, but also with such of the Isles and other rebels who had not as yet joined him, as well as with those of Badenoch, Monteith and Marr, besides that his posting himself in Athole, in the county of Perth and the neighbourhood of Angus, would give him apparent opportunity to fortify himself considerably in horse. He considered further, that the ill-affected of the nation would not fail to make their advantage of any thing which might look like faintness in their Majesties forces, which they, as well as we ourselves, judged to be superior in number to Dundee, particularly provided we might hinder the men of Athole as well as those he

left behind to joyn him by obliging him to present action, or to keep to the hills ; whereby the General propos'd to himself occasion to be master of the castle of Blair, which infallibly would keep the Athole-men from joyning the ennemy ; being sure, however, that matters might fall out betwixt the bodies, that garrison would always be able to vex them : with all the General judg'd better of his own men, tho all of them almost new levies than of the ennemy, by reason that, notwithstanding of their advantage in the opening of the campaign, they shew'd nothing that look'd like briskness. These were the reasons then which mov'd him to resolve his march in Athole, notwithstanding four troops of dragoons and two of horse had not joyn'd as yet.

The first day he set forward from St. Johnston he lodg'd over against Dunkeld, where by 12 of the clock at night he received a letter from the Lord Murray signifying Dundee's entry into Athole, and his own retreat from the castle of Blair, (which till then he made the fashion to keep blockt) and his passing a strait and difficult pass two miles below the said house, leaving it betwixt him and the ennemy, the farther side whereof he affirm'd to have left guarded, for our free passage to the Blair where he suppos'd Dundee to be already ; altho Lieutenant-Colonel Lawder, whom the General command'd presently upon Murray's advertisement for the better securing of the pass, deny'd to have met with any of his men there. Next morning by the break of day the General march'd, having dispatch'd orders to Perth to haste up the other six troops and come to the entry of the pass, which was eleven miles from his former night's camp, about 10 of the clock, where he let his men rest two hours to take some refreshment ; having at his coming to a halt command'd 200 men more, under the Earle of Leven's Lieutenant Colonel to fortify Lawder, with order to send back what advertisement they could have of the ennemy, before he should engage himself in the pass, which was two miles long. The General had spok'd with the Lord Murray a little below the pass ; who being enquir'd how many men he had with him, answer'd that most of

them were gone to the hills to put their cattle out of the way, so that he had at present but two or three hundred of them by him, which seemed reasonable as well as customary to that sort of people, when any forces, whether friends or enemy past through their country ; which made the General not so apt to judge ill of Murray as others did. However it might be, he apprehended not the enemy, though he should have met them much stronger than himself. Therefore after he had got a return from Lawder, that the pass was clear, he marched in the following order : Balfour's, Ramfay's and Kenmore's battalions first, then Belhaven's troop of horse, followed by Levin's regiment, with a battalion of the Generals ; after those followed the baggage horses being odds of 1200, and last of all the Earle of Annandales troop of horse with Hafling's regiment, which were left behind the baggage, lest the enemy might detach men about the hill to attack it, or that the country men, seeing it without sufficient guard, might not fall a plundering of it. Having past with the five battalions and the troop of horse, we halted upon a field of corn along the side of the river, both to expect the passage of the baggage, with Hafling's regiment, and the troop of horse, and to distribute a communication to the forces. While the General ordered Lawder to advance with his 200 fusiliers and the troop of horse which was past some hundreds of paces upon an hill towards the way from whence he expected the enemy might appear, who presently advertised that some partys of them began to discover themselves betwixt us and Blair ; whereupon the General, galloping to the ground from whence they were discovered, ordered Colonel Balfour to dispatch quickly the distribution of his ammunition, and to put the men under arms, while, having observed the motion of the enemy, he should chuse the field of battle. Being come up to the advanced party he saw some small partys of the enemy, the matter of a short mile, marching slowly along the foot of a hill which lay towards Blair, marching towards us ; whereupon he sent orders to Balfour to march up to him in all haste with the foot. But presently upon that order, having

discovered some bodies of them marching down an high hill, within a quarter of a mile to the place where he stood, when the grofs of their body appeared, fearing that they should take poffeffion of an eminence juft above the ground where our forces halted on, of a fteep and difficult afcent, full of trees and shrubs, and within a carabin shot of the place whereon we stood, whereby they could undoubtedly force us with their fire in confufion over the river, he galloped back in all hafte to the forces, and having made every battalion form by a Quart de Conversion to the right upon the ground they stood, made them march each before his face up the hill, by which means he prevented that inconveniency, and got a ground fair enough to receive the ennemy, but not to attack them, there being, within a fhort mufket shot to it, another eminence before our front, as we stood when we were up the loweft hill, near the river, whereof Dundee had already gott poffeffion before we could be well up, and had his back to a very high hill, which is the ordinary maxim of Highlanders, who never fight againft regular forces upon any thing of equal terms, without a fure retreat at their back, particularly if their ennemies be provided of horfe; and to be fure of their efcape, in cafe of a repulfe, they attack bare footed, without any cloathing but their fhirts, and a little Highland dowblet, whereby they are certain to outrun any foot, and will not readily engage where horfe can follow the chafe any diftance. Their way of fighting is to divide themfelves by clans, the chief or principal man being at their heads, with fome diftance to diftinguifh betwixt them. They come on flowly till they be within diftance of firing, which, becaufe they keep no rank or file, doth ordinarily little harm. When their fire is over, they throw away their firelocks, and every one drawing a long broad fword, with his targe (fuch as have them) on his left hand, they fall a running toward the ennemy, who, if he ftand firm, they never fail of running with much more fpeed back again to the hills, which they ufually take at their back, except they happen to be furprized by horfe or dragoons marching through a plain, or camping negligently; as the General four days thereafter furprized ten

of them at Perth, and Sir Thomas Livingston the ensuing year in Strathpey, as we shall have occasion to touch hereafter.

All our officers and souldiers were strangers to the Highlanders way of fighting and embattailling, which mainly occasioned the consternation many of them were in; which, to remedy for the ensuing year, having taken notice on this occasion that the Highlanders are of such a quick motion, that if a battalion keep up his fire till they be near to make sure of them, they are upon it before our men can come to their second defence, which is the bayonet in the muffle of the musket. I say, the General having observed this method of the enemy, he invented the way to fasten the bayonet so to the muffle without, by two rings, that the soldiers may safely keep their fire till they pour it into their breasts, and then have no other motion to make but to push as with a pick.

The General having got up the hill with five battalions and a troop of horse, for Haflings and the other troops were not past as yet, and seeing Dundee master of an eminence so near him, resolved to make the best of that ground, and rather receive the check there in good order, than to put his men out of breath and in disorder, by attacking the enemy against an hill. Betwixt the height which he had marched up from the river, and the foot of that whereon the enemy were placed, there was a convenience to imbattail our men in one line, taking the former at our back, tho with a continued ascent from us to them.

The General having got upon the ground which he had remarked, he began to even his line, leaving a little distance betwixt every little battalion, having made two of each, because he was to fight three deep; only, in the midst of the line, he left a greater opening where he placed the two troops of horse (the other being come up just as he had taken his ground with Haflings battalion) of a design when the Highlanders approached, and that the fire of the line should be spent, to make them fall out by the larger interval, to flank the enemy on either side, as occasion should offer, not daring to expose them to the enemy's horse, which was composed all of gentlemen, reformed officers, or such as had deserted of

Dundee's regiment out of England, which was the reason he placed them behind the foot till all the fire were over on both sides : He sent also a detachment of firelocks of each battalion to the right hand to fortify Haflings regiment, to whom he was obliged to leave that post. Being come up after he had taken his ground, not willing to make unnecessary motions so near the enemy, and because the enemy were so very close upon him, and he always in action giving his ground to every one, they distinguished him, which drew their papping shot over all where he moved, whereby severals were wounded before the engagement, and finding that Balfour had advanced too far his regiment out of the line, observing that the enemy made no motion to attack as yet, after he had advertised them not to be surpris'd at the motion, because it was only to bring them in a line with the rest, lest they should be flank'd ; he made them retire, and recommending the care of the left wing (betwixt which and the right there was a boggy ground, which, on a sudden could not without hazard of bogging be galloped) to the Brigadier Balfour, returned along the face of the line to the right, where finding all ready to receive the enemy, he made a short speech to some of the battalions which stood nearest him, representing the unquestionable justice of the cause, regarding not only the Protestant interest in Britain, but in all the world, whose loss humanly seem'd mainly to depend on the success of his Majesties enterprize, for the defence thereof, as well as of the temporal happiness of their country, consisting in the maintenance of their laws, which confirm'd it to them, besides the obligation of honour and conscience, which lay upon them not to betray by a criminal faintheartedness, their masters service, by whom they were entertained, and last of all their own safety ; assuring them that if they kept firm and close they should quickly see their enemy's take the hills for their refuge : For which reason more than the hopes of pursuing the chase they stript themselves almost naked ; but on the other hand, if they happened to give way (as he should not expect) before that rabble of the Highlanders, they might freely conclude few or none of them should escape those naked pursuers far speedier of foot than they ; besides that all

the men of Athole were in arms ready to strip and knock in the head all runnaways : To avoid, then, those certain ruines, the only visible mean was to stand to it, like men fighting for their religion and liberty against the invaders of both, which was the true ground of his Majesties enterprize, and not the desire of a crown, as it was of all good men and true Protestant subjects in conjunction with and assistance to him therein, and not the prospect of advantage by the change.

The ennemys being upon their ground much about the same time with us, seemed to extend their order beyond our right wing ; which the General observing made his line move to the right by the flank, lest their design might be to flank, get betwixt him and the pass, which would be a very advantageous post for them, whereby they could cut all communication betwixt us and Perth, from whence we expected six troops of horse and dragoons more, as well as a further supply of provisions, and where they could, by the favour of the Athole men, subsist, and have convenience to joyn as many horse and foot as Dundee's credit in the counties of Angus and Perth could procure in a considerable number, without that we could hinder them but by making a motion which readily might furnish them occasion to attack us with a seen advantage : which motion brought the ennemy, whatever his design might have been, to a stand, and so we lookt upon one another for at least two hours.

The General not willing to attack, for the reasons already alledged, and the Highlanders apparently out of irresolution, which he apprehended to be of design to expect the night, wherein they might happily hope to frighten our men by a sudden motion down the hill with a loud shout, after their manner, very likely to put new men unaccustomed with an ennemy in a fright and disorder, tho' they could be kept more alert and ready than he could hope for during the whole night ; neither durst he venture to pass the river in their presence and so near them, both by reason of the hazard, the soldiers, ordinarily taking such a motion for a subject of apprehension, and the imputation which he had to expect, if he were beat in retiring. He resolved then to stand it out, tho' with

great impatience, to see the ennemy come to a resolution, either of attacking or retiring, whereof they had more choice than he; and to provoke them, he ordered the firing of three little leather field-pieces, which he caused carry on horse-back with their carriages, which proved of little use, because the carriages being made too high to be more conveniently carried, broke with the third firing.

The ennemy having a full view of our forces, by reason of the height they possessed above us, discerned presently the General, which drew their shot into all places where he stood or walked, whereby severals of our men were wounded before the engagement; and to have the so much nearer aim, they possessed themselves of some houses upon the ascent of the height whereon they stood, which the General not willing to suffer, lest the ennemy should be emboldened thereby, ordered his brother, commanding his own regiment, before whose front the houses were, to detach a captain with some fire-locks to dislodge them; judging withall that that skirmish might draw on a general engagement, which he earnestly longed for before the night approached. The captain chased the ennemy's detachment to their body with the loss of some of their number; but shortly thereafter, and about half an hour before sunset, they began to move down the hill.

The General had already commanded the officers, commanding battalions, to begin their firing at the distance of 100 paces by platoons, to discourage the approaching Highlanders meeting with continual fire: That part of their forces which stood opposite to Hastings, who had the right of all, before the Generals, Levins and Kenmore's regiments, came down briskly together with their horse, and notwithstanding of a brisk fire, particularly from the General's own battalion, whereby many of the chief gentlemen of the name of Macdonald, who attacked it, were killed, pushed their point, after they had fired their light pieces at some distance, which made little or no execution, with sword in hand, tho' in great confusion, which is their usual way: Which when the General observed, he called to the Lord Belhaven to march up with the first troop of horse, ordering him to flank to the left hand the ennemy, the fire being then

pass on all hands, and coming to handy strokes if our men had stood, appointing the second troop to do the same to the right; but scarcely had Belhaven got them without the front of the line, where they had orders to wheel for the flank, tho' their very appearance made the enemy turn away from the place where they saw the horse coming up, but contrary to orders, they began to pass, not knowing whereat, and presently turned about, as did also Kenmore's and the half of Levin's battalion.

The General observing the horse come to a stand, and firing in confusion, and the foot beginning to fall away from him, thinking happily that the horse would be picked to follow his example, and in all cases to disengage himself out of the croud of Highlanders which came down just upon the place where he was calling to the officers of the horse to follow him, spurred his horse through the enemy, (where no body nevertheless followed him, but one of his servants, whose horse was shot in passing,) where he judged, by the way they made for him, tho' alone, that if he had had but fifty resolute horse, such as Colchester's, he had certainly, by all human appearance recovered all, notwithstanding the foot was just plying over all, tho' sooner upon the left, which was not attacked at all, than to the right, because the right of the enemy had not budged from their ground when their left was engaged. Balfour's regiment did not fire a shot, and but the half of Ramsays made some little fire. Lieutenant Colonel Lawder was posted advantageously upon the left of all, on a little hill wreathed with trees, with his party of 200 of the choice of our army, but did as little as the rest of that hand, whether by his or his men's fault is not well known, for the General would never make search into the failings of that business, because they were a little too generally committed; resolution and presence of mind in battle being certainly a singular mercy of God, he denyeth and giveth it when and to whom he will, for there are seasons and occasions, that the most firm and stout-hearted do quake and shake for fear: As Solomon saith, "The wicked flee when none pursue, but the righteous is bold as a lion;" and tho' all sincere christians be not resolute, it is because it is not their vocation, for I dare

be bold to affirm that no truly sincere christian, trusting in God for strength and support, going about his lawfull calling, shall be forsaken of him, whether military, civil, or ecclesiastick ; not that sure victory shall always attend good men, or that they shall always escape with their lives, for experience doth teach the contrary, but that God, upon whom they cast their burdens and care, shall so care for them, that they shall be preserved from shame and confusion, and that they have his promises by whom are the issues against death and innumerable means inconceivable to us, to redress the disorders of our affairs, to support their hope and mind in the greatest of difficulties : As the General confessed, that immediately upon this defeat, and as he was marching of the field, he could not cast his thoughts upon any present means to redress his breach, but recommended earnestly unto God to direct his judgement and mind to fall upon such methods as the success should manifest him to be the chief Author thereof, wherein he hath also been heard, as the pursuit of this relation shall demonstrate. But to return to our purpose. Having passed through the croud of the attacking Highlanders, he turned about to see how matters stood, and found that all his left had given way, and got down the hill which was behind our line, ranged a little above the brow thereof, so that in the twinkling of an eye in a manner, our men, as well as the enemy, were out of fight, being got down pell mall to the river where our baggage stood.

At which sad spectacle it may be easily judged how he was surprized, to see at first view himself alone upon the field, but looking further to the right he espied a small heap of red coats, whither galloping, he found it to be a part of the Earle of Levin's regiment, with himself, his Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and most of his officers upon their head, whom the General praised for their steadfastness ; but seeing the men in confusion, there being some few of other regiments got among them, prayed the Earle with his officers to see to get them speedily in condition to receive the enemy, whom he minutely expected, while he galloped further to a part of Hastings, which the Colonel was marching up to their first ground, which he affirmed to have lost in pursuit of the enemy, who, thinking to fall in

his flank, he wheeled with his picks to the right upon them, whereby they leaving him, repaired to the rest of their forces, which they saw among the baggage at the river-side, the plundering whereof gave time to many of our runaways to get off, and having joined Hastings with the rest of Levins, he dispatched a nephew of his, captain of his regiment, seeing him on horseback, (tho he had eight wounds with broad swords upon his body) after his runaways to exhort all officers, whom he could meet with, to keep up their men, and labour to bring them back to joyn him, in which case he assured them of advantage.

Mean time seeing the officers could bring their men into no order, and looking every minute for the enemy's appearing, he visited a garden which was behind, of a design to put them in there in expectation of succour, but presently changed his purpose, considering, if succour failed, as readily would fall out, there was no hope of escaping out of the enemy's hands by defending an inclosure so far from new relief.

While he was in those irresolutions, in expectation of his nephews return, he brought at last news that all was gone clear away out of all reach, and that such as he had spoke to, noticed him not; mean time he espied numbers of men as it were forming themselves along the edge of the wood which was on Balfour's left, and where Lawder had been posted with 200 men, and because he had not as yet been particularly informed of the behaviour of that wing, and it being already after sun-set, he was doubtful whether those men might not be some of his own men, who had retired to the wood upon the Highlanders descent; so, exhorting the officers to labour to get their men in a condition to make at least one discharge if they were attacked, galloped up to the wood to view those men nearer, which having discovered to be enemy's, he stepped back softly to his men, and bid them have special care to march off very softly, whereby happily the enemy judging they were resolved to receive them briskly, would have respect for them and let them retire quietly, the obscurity hindring them of a full view of our number, but that if they should offer to run, they should be sure to have the Highlanders among them; so, leading them softly down

the hill he past the river, where he halted a little to get over all his men, and to observe whether the ennemy would approach the river after him. A little before his retreat the Lord Belhaven with the Earle of Annandales Lieutenant and Cornet and some four or five horsemen came up to us, which served for scouts to discover during the retreat.

The ennemy lost on the field six for our one, the fire to our right having been continued and brisk, whereby not only Dundee, with several gentlemen of quality of the countys of Angus and Perth, but also many of the best gentlemen among the Highlanders, particularly of the Macdonalds of the Isles and Glengarie were killed, coming down the hill upon Haflings, the General, and Levin's regiments, which made the best fire and all the execution; particularly the Generals battalion made great fire, being well exercised thereto by his brother, who, being his lieutenant colonel, commanded the battalion, and was killed on the spot with several of the old fouldiers pickmen, who stood by him after the shot had run away: There were also two captains and five subalterns of that battalion killed, and the other two captains left wounded upon the spot; for certainly the greatest force of that side was poured upon that battalion, and the reason was that some, who were officers among the ennemy, had carried arms in the regiment abroad, and were of opinion if it were beat that it would facilitate the rest of the work; but there was a great difference betwixt it, when they had known it, and this time, as was also of the other two regiments come out of Holland, which were mostly new levied men, the King having taken away their best and oldest men to recruit the Dutch regiments in England. The reason of the firmity of Levins regiment, was first, that they were not so numerously attacked, and secondly, that he had many more officers proportionable to the number of men than the three Dutch regiments, and very good brisk gentlemen; the same advantage Hafling's had, besides that I prefer the English commonality in my judgment in matter of courage to the Scots. The Brigadier Balfour was killed labouring with a few persons by him to get off, after his regiments had abandoned him. There was a lieutenant colonel of Kenmore's regiment also

killed, and a captain of Ramfay's with some more officers, which I do not remember, only that most part of the slaughter and imprisonment of officers and fouldiers was in the chafce.

The General having got the small refts of his forces fafely over the river, and feeling no difpofition, fo far as he could difcern, of the ennemy to purfue him, he bethought himfelf which way he had beft retire ; and notwithstanding of the contrary advice of all the officers who would have him to defcend the plain country of Athole to Dunkeld and Perth, he refolved rather to march into the Highlands three or four miles, and then over to Strath Tay and along the foot of the hills, over the Caftle of Drummond, where he had a garrifon, to Stirling, whither he refolved to make all the fpeed poffible to fall upon fome prefent meafures ; but tho' there were who reprefented to him that thofe few afrighted men would make no refiftance if the ennemy purfued, together with the neceffity of his making hafte fouthward, he would never refolve to alter his refolution with thofe few men till he had conducted them into a place of fecurity, notwithstanding he was very well fatisfied of the truth of what they alledged. The reafon of the refolutions was, that he apprehended more the purfuit of Dundee (whom he knew not to have been killed) with his horfe, than that of the Highlanders, whom he knew to be fo greedy of plunder that their general would not get them that night to purfue us ; therefor he refolved to keep the moft inaccessible ground for horfe, befides that he knew all the men of Athole would be in arms and run the whole night and next day upon the runnaways, therefore refolved to quite altogether the tract of that country, and tho he was purfued, his men would not fight ; as well as of the neceffity of his hafte to Stirling ; he judged it would tend to the difreputation of the fervice, as of himfelf in particular, if after he had got off thofe few men in a body in prefence of the ennemy, they fhould happen by his leaving them to be difperfed and fall into their hands, refolving at the fame time never to halt much for fuch as would not keep up, becaufe of the confequence, both of loofing time, and of the ennemy's, and fuch of the people of the country through which he muft

needs march off, as this success would induce to declare for them cutting before him, which they might easily do with hopes, tho they should not be advertised of his rout till next morning: Marching then off, as he had concluded, he met in the obscurity about two miles off the field of battle with Colonel Ramfay, who had kept up the matter of 150 runnaways altogether almost without arms, and knew not in the world how he should best get them off; whom the General having joyn'd into his party, continued his way up a little river, which fell into that which he had crossed before, till he came to some little houses where he saw light, and having got out the man of the house, enquired of him concerning the ground and the way to Strath Tay and the Laird of Weem's lands, who was our friend, his eldest son having been in the action with a company of 100 Highlanders, which he levied for their Majesties service. The countryman having sufficiently informed him of all his demands, and guessing himself at the situation of the country, by the map, so far that he could not carry him far out of the way, he crossed that second river, and past through very ill ground over hills and bogs to the Weem; and next morning at the dawning of the day the people of Strath Tay, alarmed with our approach, whom they took for the Highlanders, and fearing for their houses and cattle, did raise a great noise and shout, whereat our men, judging it to be the enemy, got before them, and began all to break off to the hills, if the General and some officers on horseback had not, with their pistols in hand, threatened them back again; but the obscurity hindring a full view at any distance, the matter of 100 or more got away, who altogether were knocked in the head and stript, or taken prisoners, and we pursued our march with very little halt all that day, being on a Sunday, the 28th July, discovering the country all along as we marched in uproar, and arrived late in the night at the Castle of Drummond, and next day at Stirling, finding all the county of Perth in arms in favour of the rebels, tho no considerable body of them together as yet.

At Stirling the General met with Major General Lanier, whom the council had sent there to form a body of what forces were in the fourth to

maintain the River of Forth and the pass and bridge of Stirling, of whom having informed himself of what orders had been distributed upon the news of this defeat, and finding that Barclay's regiment had been commanded to Dundee out of the county of Aberdeen, that Sir John had dispatched orders for his own regiment, which lay at Anwick and Morpeth in England, to march down to Edinburgh, and that all their thoughts and measures tended to abandon the northern counties of Scotland to the enemy's, he resolved to alter those measures, (knowing how hard a pull he would have) of the Scots war, if he left the north, which are absolutely the best men of that kingdom for the war, to the discretion of the enemy, where he would not only get great numbers to join them, but also take possession of towns and seize upon the publick revenues, whereby they could form a fashion of government, and so have more plausible ways, not only to maintain, but also to ingross their party, than ever they have had; besides the party they had secured on both sides of the borders of the two kingdoms ready to declare for them upon the first prospect of a favourable success, and the rupture already beginning in that part of the parliament, which had been most determined for their Majesties government, which, in all appearance, would hinder the resolutions of that great court of the nation in favour; and having upon those and the like other reasons grounded his design, he sent, on Tuesdays morning, orders to 8 troops of new levied horse, 4 of dragoons of the same sort, and the Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, to march to Stirling, Wednesday morning, not exceeding in all 500. Colchester's regiment being very weak, and the new troops not compleat, writing to Duke Hamilton, that the parliament should not be alarmed at what past, but proceed in their affairs, while he should lose no time nor spare any pains to hinder the enemy from profiting by their victory, ordering Sir John Lanier to return to Edinburgh to hasten the march of his own regiment of horse with Hayford's dragoons, the former consisting of 9, and the latter of 8 troops; discharging at the same time the west country men, whereof some thousands were gathering together upon the news of the defeat; the General not

willing that those people, whose pretensions appeared already exorbitant enough, should have ground to think that the King could not without them maintain his government, except necessity should drive them, but rather to make use of any succour than see the enemies of the gospel fortify themselves in the kingdom. On Wednesday morning, having got his horse and dragoons to the park of Stirling, and passed them in review, and leaving order with a new battalion of foot to follow him, he marched out of Stirling about two in the afternoon, taking his way straight to Perth, from whence nevertheless he could not possibly get any news, all the country betwixt it and Stirling being in arms, and most part absent from their houses. He halted a part of that night for fear of ambushes in a village half way to Perth, and next morning at the break of day pursued his way toward the water of Earn, a little river three miles short of Perth, where four of his scouts, not above a musket shot before the party, according to their order, (lest they being surprised should discover our motion to the enemy) met with two brisk horsemen of the enemy's party, who, attacking our men with a loud "qui vive," made them fire upon the enemy in a surprise, and happened to shoot the one dead, and the other so that tho he spake some words, he had no sense of what was enquired of him.

This encounter made the General judge that happily the enemy's main body was not far off, wherefor he quitted the road and enlarged himself over a steep hill above which there was a great heath, where the Marquis of Montrose had obtained a notable victory over the Parliament's forces in the reign of King Charles the First, and having, about this place, got notice that some foot and horse of the enemy were come to Perth, instead of moving straight toward the town, he took his way to the left to fall in betwixt them, and the gross of their party camped at Dunkeld, 14 miles below the place where he had fought, and being advanced in sight of the town of Perth, he discovered the matter of thirty horse of the enemy already passed the river of Tay, and so out of reach; but within one half mile without the said town was a small party of foot about 300, who, upon the discovery of our party, came to ane halt as irresolute what to do.

The General, knowing the river to be low and fordable about that place, detached the four troops of dragoons to gallop all their best down to them to prevent their passage; at which motion the party of the enemy returned toward the town again, and the General, not knowing what number they might have in the village, where he had first discovered them, not having any sure intelligence where their main body lay to prevent their entry into the town, having no foot by him to force the entry upon them, he detached three troops of Colchester's horse at the gallop to fall in betwixt them and that retreat following close with the rest in good order; after he had left detachments upon the heights, where they could discover to all hands from whence an enemy could approach. At the appearance of those detachments the enemy threw themselves into the river, where the horse and dragoons mixed with them, and killed the matter of 120, and took 30 prisoners. They were all Athole-men, and were so opinionate or stupid that not one of them called for quarters. We lost but one man in the action, who followed indiscreetly 4 or 5 Highlanders a great way from his comrades.

Of this little action, which nevertheless served to good purpose, the General sent the Lord Belhaven, captain of horse, to give account to Duke Hamilton, Lord High Commissioner from the King to the then sitting Parliament, and took his post at Perth to observe the enemy as near as he could till he got more forces together, writing to Sir John Lanier to haste the down march of his regiment and Hayfords, and sent for a battalion of his own regiment, which lay at Stirling, to come to Perth, being resolved to take the field with his party of horse and dragoons upon the first motion of the enemy to keep him out of the plain country, and from fortifying himself with a junction of horse, which was that he wanted most, and wrote to Sir Thomas Livingston, giving him account of the state of affairs, ordering to put Inverness in the best posture he could, and assuring him that if the enemy turned head that way, he should quickly see him upon the head of 14 or 1500 horse and dragoons in their rear. Meantime, the General gave orders for the pallfading of the most passable

places of Perth, knowing that the Highlanders are not good attackers where they cannot run to with sword in hand, and keep strong guards, and sent out parties in the night to bring notice of the enemy, in case he should move toward him.

At the end of three or four days he was advertised that a considerable number of Highlanders met from several hands had joined him upon the notice of their victory, together with Lord James Murray, son to the Marquis of Athole, and all the said Marquis's vassals; and that Canon, who now commanded in chief for King James in Scotland after Dundee's death, had made a motion from Dunkeld toward the north, along the edge of the plains, keeping always the hills close upon his left, in case of the approach of any number of horse: Whereof the General being for certain advertised and apprehending for the northern counties, ordered Sir John Lanier, with the horse and dragoons which he expected out of England, to come with all diligence to Perth, (where the General left two battalions of foot,) where he was to post himself till further advertisement from him; who, passing the River Tay, marched to Cowper, ten miles from Perth, a little country town in Angus, not far from the foot of the hills, and there having spoke some of his men who escaped from the enemy upon their march, was told that they continued their march further north, which obliged him to advance toward Forfar, within eight miles of Glenila, where he understood the enemy was camped; from whence Canon moved to Clova, much about the same distance from the General's quarters, who, being but weak, and most part new levies, placed himself in the fields every night, and in the morning after he sent out some scouts, and placed his sentries upon the heights about his quarter, did let his men rest and refresh themselves.

After he had been two nights at Forfar, he got sure intelligence that Canon had passed a very high mountain, called Mount Capel, into Braemar, where the General had a garrison in the House of Abergeldie, from which place he might, with equal convenience and prospect of success, turn either toward Inverness or Aberdeen, where their party had many friends and well-

wifhers. Therefor, to hinder as much as poffible the ennemy's progrefs till more forces could be had, he wrote orders to Sir John Lanier to come to Forfar, left the ennemy, making a feint to draw him to the north, might fuddenly return the fame way fouth, and into Angus again; and took his way fraight to Aberdeen, where he arrived the fecond day to the great joy of the moft part of the inhabitants, who otherwife expected the Highland army in their town that very night. There he was advertifed by an exprefs from the mafter of Forbes that Canon had taken a very ftrong poft upon his father's ground, where he had the Highlands at his back, a wood to cover him, and free communication with his friends in the plain country of Aberdeen and Banff, which made the General judge, that the ennemy, knowing him to want foot, and his horfe and dragoons but fmall in number, took that poft of purpofe to fecure the junction of their friends in thofe countries, to make up a body of horfe, with their foot, which at this time we judged odds of 4000 foot, with 150 horfe, wherefore he prefently difpatched an exprefs to Sir Thomas Livingfton to leave the command of the forces in and about Invernefs to Sir James Leffie, and to repair over Spey and toward Strathbogy, 24 miles benorth Aberdeen, with his regiment of dragoons, ordering him in cafe he found the ennemy to approach to that rout, to take his march more to the left over the plains, and to fend continual expreffes to give account of his diligence, difpatching at the fame time orders to Sir John Lanier to fend Hayford's regiment of dragoons to Aberdeen, where he fhould find further directions; by the junction of which regiments he doubted not to overturn all the defigns of the ennemy.

The General refted a day at Aberdeen, giving order for beaking of bread to his party to be fent after him, tho' he could give no directions as yet to what place it fhould be fent him, being obliged to obferve the ennemy; to which end he moved up toward the Lord Forbes's lands, and upon his march, being advertifed that Canon moved further north towards the Duke of Gordon's lands, to prevent any defign upon Livingfton, and hinder the joyning of the northern countries with the ennemy, the Ge-

neral, having refreshed his party in the field for some hours of that night, marched by the break of day towards Strathbogy, by which motion he covered Livingston's march, sending back orders to Hayford to follow him with his dragoons. At Strathbogy, the ennemy being posted within 4 or 5 miles of him, he viewed the ground and took up the most proper for the nature of his party, whereof he considered Livingston's henceforth, for he expected him, according to his orders that same night; and visited round about his post by day, but placed no guards or sentries till it was dark, that the country men, whom he suspected to be Duke Gordon's people, should not know the particular posts which he designed for the security of his party, with which, tho' without tents, he always for six weeks together lodged in the field in a body, and would never separate. Livingston joined him the night he came to Strathbogy. Next morning he sent out 100 horse and dragoons under Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie to view the ennemy's countenance, and bring account how they were posted, being resolved to march up to them as soon as Hayford should join him. At our party's approach the ennemy was alarmed, judging our whole body followed, notwithstanding they were so posted in woods and bogs that no horse could attack them.

Next day the General sent out a greater party, ordering Edinglassie to approach the ennemy's camp from another way, because he [was] assured they would lay their ambuscades the way he had been before, which he found to be so. The General was obliged to fatigue his men in parties and detached guards in this country more then in several others where he had been before, because he could not lean much to the intelligences which were brought him by the country people; therefore he had every night small parties out round about his quarters, but most towards the ennemy's camp. Hayford being joined with his regiment, and the General waiting only for some bread from Aberdeen, to march straight to the ennemy's post, notice is brought him, that they returned again toward the River of Dee, which obliged him to follow them to Cromar and the said River, where having further intelligence that Canon had past

the hills into the counties of Merns and Angus, he not finding himself above 11 or 1200 horse and dragoons in number, judged he could not without manifest hazard venture that passage after the enemy odds of 4000 strong, it being a way where horse could do little or no service. Therefor, being fully certified that the enemy had past the said mountains, he descended the River of Dee, the matter of 30 miles in one day, till he came to Aberdeen, dispatching an express to Sir John Lanier to advertise him of the enemy's motion. Mean time the General was in continual motion with a very small party to hinder the growth and progress of the enemy.

The Court, being alarmed with the news of the defeat in Athole, with the General's death, ordered General Ghinekell to march to the borders with 9 or 10 squadrons of Dutch horse lying in Yorkshire. Which orders, when the news of the General's being in health and in the field again, with the little rencounter at Perth, were countermanded. When we were at Strathbogy, the Council wrote to the General that they wished he would garrison the House of Blair in Athole with that of Finlarie before the rains came on, which begin early in those countries. To whom he returned answer, that he could not quit the enemy so long as he continued in a body so formidably; withall that the service which they proposed required no haste, because those houses being near the plain countries, he was sure to render himself master of them at any time. But if their Lordships were very bent upon it, they might command Sir John Lanier to draw out some foot to joyn to his regiment with Barclay's, which lay at Forfar, by the General's order, who also had, at his north going, ordered the three battalions of the Dutch regiments which had not been at the late encounter in Athole, to post themselves under Colonel Ramfay at Perth, where he was come before this time. The Council, upon the General's answer, without consideration of the insufficiency of the place for defence, ordered the Earle of Angus's regiment to Dunkeld, ten miles above Perth, separate from all speedy succour, and exposed to be carried by insult, without the least prospect of advancement to the service by their

being posted there ; but an assured expectation of being attacked, because the enemy had not such prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whom they called the Cameronian regiment, whose oppression against all such as were not of their own sentiment made them generally hated and feared in the northern countries ; whereby it might be easily judged, that the men of Athole now fully declared for the rebellion would not fail to lay hold upon the occasion to cut them off, finding them so disadvantageously lodged, and therefore sent to give advertisement of the occasion to defeat them to Canon, who, having past the hills, as above, thought to play his personage alone in the county of Angus. But Sir John Lanier, posted at Forfar with his own and Barclay's regiment, marched towards Brechin, near which town the enemies were advanced. Whereupon, after a little skirmish (where some of both sides were killed) betwixt their fore parties or scouts, the Highlanders thought fit to quit the plain ground to Sir John, who knew nothing that the regiment of Angus had been so disadvantageously posted, nor that, about this very instant, Canon had received the message from the men of Athole concerning the said regiment, and the opportunity offered to cut it off.

Upon the enemy's retreat to the hills Sir John Lanier returned to Forfar, where he received orders from the Council to march to Athole and Finlarie, to garrison those houses. Whereupon he marched next day to Cowper of Angus, within ten miles of Perth as well as of Dunkeld, where he received advertisement from Colonel Ramsay of the Highlanders approach to Dunkeld, where they could not miss of defeating the regiment of Angus, desiring to know his orders what was to be done. Sir John, being altogether a stranger to the country, delayed to order any thing till he should be at Perth next day, in which interim, if the Providence of God had not blinded Canon, and disheartened his Highlanders from continuing their attack, the regiment had certainly been lost, for they had two full days time to carry them, and all their defence was but low gardens, in most places not above four feet high. But if a sparrow fall not to the ground without the Providence of our Heavenly Father, much more may we

conclude that the lot of the children of men is over ruled by his providence.

This attack, which our own people, as well as the ennemy judged could not fail, produced clear another effect; for after that day the Highlanders got a low esteem of the conduct of Canon, who could never oblige the Highlanders to attack after the first repulse, tho' he had all the reason in the world for this enterprize; which, without any manner of doubt, the half of their number of the same forces which they had beat a little before in the field would have carried with as little difficultie as losse. But the Highlanders are not of passive courage, so that when they meet with any thing to stop their first fury, and hinder their running upon their ennemys with sword in hand, they are soon rebated, and cannot stand before fire tho' never so irregular and small, whereof this is a great instance; for tho' they lost not twenty men in the attack, Canon could never bring them to it the second time.

If Sir John Lanier had known the situation of the country, or that Colonel Ramfay or others had known and considered the matter, and how those people might be best and speediest succoured, the surest way certainly had been to make the forces lying at Perth, immediately upon Sir John's approach to Cowper, pass the river of Tay at Perth to join Sir John, and so unitedly march to Dunkeld, which lay upon that side of the river; because by marching on the other side the ennemy might force Angus's quarter, they looking on and not able to help them. Ramfay had sent up to their assistance three troops of dragoons upon the first alarm of the ennemy's approach to Dunkeld; but afterward, judging they could not help much to the defence of that post, ordered them back. Upon which order, when the ennemy was already in preference to attack the post, they marched off, pretending they could not disobey orders, tho' to the palpable discouragement of men, who saw themselves abandoned to the fury of their implacable ennemys without possibility of a retreat, and as little likelihood of succour, and contrary to the protestations of the Commander of the regiment Lieutenant Colonel Cle-

land, a sensible resolute man, though not much of a souldier, who charged those retiring dragoons with the loss and blood of that regiment. In this business the Council failed, by giving special order for the posting of forces, which they ought to have left to the judgment of officers. Ramsay failed (happily by too much respect for the Council's order, which he ought to have considered conditionally) first, by not stopping the regiment at Perth, giving the Council reason of his so doing, 2dly, that, upon the approach of the Highlanders, he did not either march with all the forces, which he had at Perth, to maintain the post if he judged it of consequence, or provided Cleland with orders, if he found not the place tenable against such numbers as he could expect against him, to make a timely retreat, giving at the same time advertisement to him that he might make a motion up the river to favour his retreat; for all officers, who are not tied by express orders from their superiors in command, are answerable for the neglects of the service, as much as the chief commander, tho' he were present, when they by their rank fall to command in chief a body of the forces. Ramsay complained also, that Sir John Lanier delayed his resolution too long after he had given him account of the pressing danger of the post of Dunkeld.

The General, as was touched above, having been obliged rather than to venture the passage of the mountains without foot after the Highlanders to make the tour of Aberdeen; when leaving Sir Thomas Livingston with his regiment six troops of horse and three of Cardross's dragoons to keep all those northern countries in awe, he marched with all speed to join Sir John Lanier, and at Brechin getting notice of the Council's order to Lanier, he dispatched an express to desire he might delay his march to Athole till he had join'd him, which he did about the beginning of September, and so with the most part of the horse, foot and dragoons, which he carried with him, and found assembled at Perth, marched after the enemy, threatening to leave not a standing house in Athole, and to burn and destroy all their corn if the House of Blair, where he designed a garrison, should be burned by the enemy. Which rigorous message saved the house, which otherwise was the interest of the enemy as well as that of the

Marquis of Athole and the whole country to have burnt, being conscious of their own guilt, and by consequence having no ground to expect favourable treatement of a garrison among them; nevertheless the prospect of a present apparent rain made them spare the house, and the General, notwithstanding the Athole men were the principal occasion of all the troubles and discommodities he had met with during that whole summer, he spared their country, contrary to the formed design of the most part of the officers of the army, and received upon the terms of his Majesty's gracious indemnity all the inhabitants of that country who submitted themselves and delivered up their arms: for he followed forth an inviolable maxim to destroy none so long as there was any hopes of reclaiming men from pursuing so blindly their own and their country's ruin. But the rains began so violently the same day we marched from Perth, and continued not only all the time we lay camped at Blair, about 10 days, but for two months continually thereafter, that the General having sent, according to the King's order, the regiments of Lanier, Hayford and Hastings to the west to be shipped over for Ireland, as he did those of Colchester's and Barclay immediately into England to be made up again, he was necessitated to retire with the foot down the country to Perth again, contrary to his resolution to march to the head of Lochtay with a good detachment to garrison the house of Finlarie, belonging to the Earle of Broadalbin, one of the chiefest and cunningest fomenters of the trouble of that kingdom, not for love of King James, but to make himself necessary to the government, and to try if, by such a motion, the Highlanders, being now separated each to his own country, not understanding happily the impossibilities of acting any thing against them for that year, might happen thereby to be intimidated so as to submit to the government. But the continual rains, as is said, forced him to retire the forces (after he had given order for the fortifying of Blair Castle with a pallisade and breastwork, and left nine companies of foot in it) to Perth, where he distributed them in the nearest villages in expectation of fair weather, which he expected in vain some two weeks there in person.

At last having received letters from London to take under his care 1000 Danish forces, to see them disembarked at Leith, mustered and marched to the west of Scotland, and re-embarked for Ireland; and finding the wind favourable for their passage, he went to Edinburgh, communicated his orders to the Council, and obtained their order for taking of bread and providing of forrage along the road where they should march through. Which done, seeing the rains continue, and all hopes of doing any thing more for that season in the field being lost, he returned to Perth, and made a detachment under command of the Lord Cardross to garrison Finlarie, which he executed without any rencounter with the enemy.

The General, apprehending the consequence of the deviation broached in Parliament concerning the Lords of the Session, had writ to the Earle of Portland in favours of the Earle of Annandale and the Lord Ross, as persons of whom he believed well, and might be useful for his Majesty in the beginning of his reign, having rendered themselves very popular among the Presbyterians, the only party upon whom he could lay stress for the support of their Majesty's government; representing to the Earle the dangerous consequence for his Majesty to take all his measures for a kingdom (to which he was necessarily altogether a stranger) by the information and counsel of two or three labouring to secure the administration of the government thereof to themselves and their families; and that in his opinion the surest measures for his Majesty, as well as for his Lordship, would be to give a fair hearing to all parties, whereby he must necessarily be better informed, and more capable by consequence to judge of matters rightly. Which letter he had writ with the said Lords from Forfar after they had declared upon their honour and conscience never to have intended nor to do (whatever the King's determination in the matter in question should happen to be) the least step contrary to their Majesty's interest and service.

During the General's abode at Perth, he received a letter from the Lord Melvil, sole Secretary of State for Scotland, signifying that the King being

resolved to break some of the regiments paid with Scots money, because the Parliament was not like to grant new subsidies. The Court, not favouring well their address, desired to be informed which of them deserved best to be kept on foot. Which motion he opposed with all the reasons he could alledge, considering that the divisions of the Parliament began already to raise the lost hopes of the rebels, wherein not only Parliament, but Council Members fortified them; and tho those levies never came to considerable perfection, yet the very name of them did keep many in awe, who, upon a cessation, would lift the mask; that he must needs separate the forces about 250 miles, to secure the low countries from the enemy's attempts, who otherwise would render themselves masters of a considerable part of them, and so have a better prospect of continuing the rebellion by fortifying their party with horse, and securing a country fit to maintain them. Those with other reasons he offered to the consideration of the King, to be represented to him by the Lord Secretary, for the prevention of the cessation, whereof he apprehended great inconvenience and hazard for his Majesty's service; desiring mean while, if the King was positive in breaking some of the standing forces, he might speedily be advertised of the number which was resolved to be continued on foot, that he might make his dispositions of winter quarters accordingly, and that there was so little difference to be found betwixt the regiments as yet, that his Majesty's favour might be the rule for the modell of the regiments to be kept up. Of which letter and proposition he had not the least answer for odds of ten weeks thereafter.

The General now apprehending the Parliament either would not meet, or if it came together it would not agree to the consent of a subsidy till they had the matter of the Session regulated to their mind, and seeing the King trust wholly to the advice of the Secretary, who was influenced by the Lord Tarbat, whose interest was not to let the Parliament sit, fearing they should fall upon his no more than Melvils, who, finding himself in the whole credit of the government, thought it not very safe to fall under the disputes of a mutinous Parliament, which

oftentimes Princes have been obliged to gratify with the loss of their most intimate favourites. Judging that in either of these cases King James's party would become strong, and their Majesty's affairs brought into great disorders, whereof the issue might prove doubtful, he insisted extremely to have liberty to go for Holland some few months of the winter season wherein he knew the enemy could do no considerable harm; and to facilitate his design, got Major General Monro, an old German as well as British soldier, who understood the matter of the Highlands pretty well, to be made a counsellor, with a yearly pension, to help the Council to take the necessary measures for the security of the service in his absence.

But Tarbat and Melvill knowing, or at least believing, that he preferred that liberty not so much to be in Holland, as by the King, to represent things so to his Majesty as that he should be obliged to follow other counsels and methods for his affairs in Scotland, or if he found his enemies credit too strong for him to lay at the King's feet his commission of Commander in Chief of their Majesty's Forces in Scotland, which was his true design and resolution: They, I say, not willing he should see the King, tho' they contrived to have him removed from that command, opposed his getting of the desired forloof, tho' he was made to hope at his first suit for it, so that the General, who expected for certain his forloof about the beginning of November, the Danish troops being by storm put out of their road and mostly landed pretty southerly in England, received a letter from the Earle of Portland, shewing that the King would willingly see that kingdom in a more settled state before he left it; whereby he began to consider the Earle henceforth preoccupied by Melvill's and Tarbat's information of matters, conceiving that the King as well as the Earle of Portland considering him as from his youth a stranger to Scotland, besides that his profession hitherto promised no great ability in him concerning matters of state, and would have no great regard to what he could alledge against the reasons of such an old politician as Tarbat, which certainly was a mistake; for to a man, who had been wrestling with difficulties in that kingdom already nine months, as the General by the politick and double dealing of Tarbat

and others of his principles there, needed not much cunning to discover that they governed themselves neither by the interest of Kings, country or religion, but by their own, in all their actions; and tho the General believed Melvil a wellwisher of their Majesties government in general, nevertheless he discovered him to be so bent upon the making up of his family in whom he would have lodged all the places of trust and profit of the kingdom, which at last he got effectuate, that he was ready to embrace and promote all counsels which he discovered to tend to his own establishment, not examining how prejudicial they might prove to the general interest of King and kingdom, that not being so much the subject of his contrivances as the other.

Tarbat in the mean time saw, that if by his counsel for adjourning the Parliament matters succeeded to the King's satisfaction in Scotland, Melvil's credit, who was but his mouth, would be established; and by consequence his own, with whom, as was said, the King advised what the secretary proposed; and if, on the other hand, by an unpaid disorderly and mutinous army, an oppressed people, discontented nobility, for the most part a divided Parliament and Council, an unacceptable composition of Session to the most part of the nation, whether abusively or upon good grounds, I leave it there; a church divided into two more irreconcilable factions, tho both calling themselves Protestants, than Rome and Geneva, so much is that which the first Reformers did scarcely mention in their writings preferred by the religious zealots of our days to the being and well being of the whole Protestant church, that rather than yield the least in those indifferent matters they would give occasion to the enemies of the truth to overturn what God had wrought already beyond their expectations for the maintenance thereof, as well as of their laws and liberties, yea of the liberty of all Europe, which mainly dependeth upon the maintenance of this present government in Britain; the Episcopal government being voted out, and their ministers (expecting little brotherly dealing from the repentment of the Presbyterians, whom they had so violently persecuted during the former reigns,) preached King James more than

Christ as they had been accustomed to take passive obedience more than the gospel for their text; which is not to be understood of all, there being many ministers in the northern countries well principled and affected to your Majesty's government, as the means whereof it had pleased God to make use for the defence of his truth against the designs of France; and the Presbyterians, impatient to see their government established by law, began to be very jealous of the court by the frequent adjournments of Parliament.

All those considerations made the General look upon Scotsmen of those times in general as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, seeing all men hunt after their particular advantages, and none minding sincerely and self-deniedly the common good, which gave him a real distaste of the country and service; resolving from that time forward to disengage himself out of it as soon as possible he could get it done, and that the service could allow of.

And to the end timely measures should be taken, wrote to the Earle of Portland, wherein the failings of the past campaign consisted, and the reason wherefor the troubles of that kingdom might not have been ended that very year, and then gave him a detail of the methods how to amend those failings in time to come. Upon which subject he wrote several letters to the said Earle, after he had discovered that his style was not grateful to the designs of Melvil, who never almost answered any of his letters, and if he happened to write never touched the particulars contained therein, but said overly he had represented them to the King; whereof the General, beginning to be jealous, applied himself to Portland, whom he was sure and found had no other design in Scotland but the King's service, tho' happily he might be mistaken by crediting more such as had their own designs, at which they levelled in all their proposals for the government, more than those who fought nothing but a speedy end of their disorders. But whether by the multitude of other affairs, or being otherways persuaded by Melvil and Tarbat, he could not know, but so it is that he got as little return from Portland as from Melvil.

Mean time he was vexed at the heart to see that the King, upon the account of the difference about the Lords of Session, especially the President Stairs, at whom the chief clubbers seemed to level most, should venture a rupture with the Parliament which so lately had testified so much zeal for his service and interest, particularly upon the subject of prerogative, it being unseasonable to dispute that point before the government was well settled upon its basis; and therefore judged that the good opinion of the people was of so much more import to his Majesty in the infancy of his reign than the prerogative in question, which certainly signified nothing to a prince, who had no design differing from the interest and happiness of his subjects, which consisteth much in the due and impartial administration of justice; being of opinion that disputes of that nature so early broached would create ill grounded jealousies in the heart of the subject, so as from beginnings to form unjust consequences for the rest of that reign, which is more usual than equitable for men to do.

These and the like considerations made him write freely to the Earle of Melvil upon the subject, particularly in answer to one of the said Earles, wherein he lamented as if all lay at stake again. To which the General replied, among other particulars, that his opinion was always that the King should part with what was pretended by the country party, as it was termed, rather than venture a division with his people in a time when his enemies could not fail of profiting notably thereby to the making of a considerable diversion of his Majestys forces and money, which might be employed more usefully to further his greater designs elsewhere; alledging to his Lordship the counsel of Solomon's old counsellors to his son in the beginning of his reign, viz. to be the servant of his people for that day only, and that they would be his servants for ever thereafter; and that therefore the Kings service was not to put the preservation of particular persons, how great and deserved esteem soever he might have for them, in the balance with the peace of the kingdom, to which the jealousies raised betwixt the King and his Parliament, whereof the matter of the Session was pretended the subject, seemed to be the only obstacle. For 'tis as

clear as the sun, that after Dundee's death, when the Highlanders and others who had joined and favoured saw that they could make nothing of their advantage, which they could not so readily expect in future rencounters when the forces should be brought under better discipline ; I say, seeing how little they could make of it, there is no question but they had given it over from that time forth, if the deviations of the government had not encouraged its enemies without and within the kingdom to set new designs on foot ; whereof the General wrote very plainly to the Earle of Portland, finding how little notice was taken of what he proposed before ; giving him to understand that his continuation in the command of the forces in Scotland could not but prove prejudicial to the Kings service, because his secretary and others of his faction were his enemies, and having more credit than he with the King would labour to be revenged of him, to make the service fail in his hands ; and therefore if the King did not judge him capable to give his Majesty solid information of matters, and propose right methods to establish his authority in that kingdom, it were the interest of his service as well as the Generals desire to be removed out of that command, being unwilling to hazard his reputation, tho obscure in the world, where he had so little prospect of advancing the service, so long as those who could be most helpful to him proved his greatest obstacles. With such expressions were writ two letters to the Earle of Portland much about the time the King sent him to Holland, which, by reason of his absence, Melvil carried to the King, who happily not being so well informed of the subject of the Generals displeasure before, wrote to him in answer to those two letters to Portland, desiring to know what methods he would propose for the timely subduing of the Highlanders ; his Majesty being also of opinion that the sooner the General should endeavour it the better, that he might make use of some of those forces for the expedition of Ireland.

Whereupon he prepared and sent to the King proposals for the way to bridle so the Highland rebels before the beginning of May, that his Majesty might leave Scotland in great security at his passage into Ireland with no

considerable expenses. He desired three frigates of 30 piece of cannon each or thereabout, with money or order to the government to furnish 10 or 12 ships of burden, with some three or 4 dozen big boats, 3000 firelocks, the forces being ill armed, and picks not usefull in those Highland wars, 400 *chevaux de frise*, with money to furnish two months provisions for betwixt 3 and 4000 foot, and 2000 spades, shovels and pickaxes, with which he proposed to march toward the latter end of March through the county of Argyle to a place called Dunstaffnage, the duelling place of the antient Kings of the Scots, before they had chased the Picts out of Scotland, situated in the opening of the bay, which goes up to Innerlochy, where he designed to build a fort for a garrison of 10 or 1200 men, capable to bridle those rebels, and opposite to the Isle of Mull: at which place, where there is a very secure haven, he was to appoint the men of war, with the ships of burden and boats with the provisions, materials for working the ground, pallisades, *chevaux de frise*, with the further necessaries to attend him where he was to embark his foot upon the ships and boats, and so under favour of his cannon from the men of war, and with the help of 400 *chevaux de frise* he questioned not to force his landing at the very place, where he designed the fort according to the description he had of it from Ingeneers who had been there, tho the ennemy should oppose it with all the force they could make.

This method he proposed upon the following reasons: 1st, That Scotland might be so quieted and the combined Highlanders bridled, that the King might have no apprehension from that hand when he should pass the sea into Ireland; it being naturally understood that if ever his enemys should labour to overturn the government, it would be during his Majestys absence, to which the early subduing of the Highlanders would be a great obstacle, for tho the General did not imagine that they would presently submit upon the placing of a garrison at Innerlochy, he was nevertheless sure that it would keep them so at home; if otherwise they would not so expose their wives, children, cattle and houses to the mercy of the garrison, that they should not trouble the government much, as we have experimented since

theplacing thereof. And, 2ly, That he could not poffibly march into their country by land before the month of June, by reafon of the bad ways, and no fubfiftence for horfe in the field : before which time he confidered be-fides that the Kings abfence would raife the courage of his ennemys to undertake with the more hope of fuccefs fomethng againft his government in both kingdoms, where there was no difpofition to leave many forces ; that the Highlanders, joyning fuch a party of horfe as was fecretly defigned for them over all the kingdom, would come out fo formidable, and fepa-rate his quarters, (which, for the defence of the plain country from fouth to north, was neceffarily far diftant from each other,) that in no place of the kingdom he fhould be capable to make head to their forces, which, by the general averfion men began to have for the government, would quickly encreafe as a fnowball. With all which reafons, and feveral others, the General accompanied and fortified his propofitions to his Ma-jefty, begging a fpeedy refolution thereof, and prefent order to the coun-cil for the timely preparations of the neceffary provifions of fubfiftence and materials, according as the General fhould propofe. But by multi-tude of his Majefty's other affairs, or happily not judging thofe of Scot-land of fo great importance, with the infnuations of others, who gave him other notions of them, the General received no return to his propofitions and frequent letters ; which made him fo chagrin and impatient, that he declared he would not continue a minute in that command, feeing plainly nothing to be expected but the lofs of his reputation with the fervice thereby, wherewith, as to the judgement of the vulgar, he was intrusted, and would ly under the blame of its mifcarriages, tho' in effect, it was never feen that a man hath been employed in a fervice of that importance fo little trufted by his mafter, as he difcovered himfelf to be by the King ; which could not but be very fenfible to him, confidering that his Majefty thereby muft either queftion his fidelity or his judgement and capacity. Nevertheless, he overcame all at laft with patience, in the firm expectation that God, (without whofe providence he had not been pitched upon for that fervice, when he was fo very unfit for any by his great ficknefs, as

was touched above, who overruleth the destiny of the least of his creatures, much more that of kingdoms, and in whose presence he served that Protestant interest in uprightness and self-denied sincerity) would bless his endeavours, and overcome, by his providence, those difficulties which he foresaw to his great discouragement, had he not been supported by that hope.

In the month of January, 1690, the King sent down an order for breaking three regiments of foot, viz. those of the Earle of Mar, with the Lords Blantyre and Bargany, and twelve troops of horse and dragoons, notwithstanding the General had represented the necessity of a considerable body of horse and dragoons, without which it was impossible to secure the authority of the government in the north, by reason of the great extent of our quarters, and the slow motion of foot to move to the assistance of their threatened neighbours' quarters; whereas, the horse and dragoons (if the commanding officers of the quarters had good intelligence and correspondence with the garrisons which lay in houses above them, toward the border of the Highlands) being timely advertised, might assist in body either of the quarters, so as to hinder the enemy from rendering himself master of it, tho' not to rob some of the inhabitants which lay nearest the hills, by surprize and stealth; there being no convenience to lodge sufficient numbers, and in fit places, to cover the country, and no appointment for their subsistence, either in provisions, fire, covering, or any other necessities, tho' there had been more places to have lodged men securely from insult and surprize of the enemy; in so far, that the garrisons and quarters we had, had been abandoned and deserted of the soldiers, and the enemy become masters of them, and happily of the better part of the kingdom during that winter, while such as had credit with and access to the King, minded only to maintain their own court against such as could render him every way better service; if the General, by positive orders, had not enjoined the officers commanding the several quarters and garrisons, to take subsistence for the men, and forage for their horses, where it was to be found, provided it were taken orderly by measure and weight,

and receipts given to the owners, to be shortened of their arrears when they happened to be paid, tho' such orders were directly contrary to the standing laws : judging that of two evils the least is to be chosen, and that no well constituted Parliament would accuse an officer who broke not their laws but for their own safety, and security of their service.

In the commission for modelling the army according to the plan sent down from Court, the Earle of Leven, tho' but a Colonel and a youth without service, was not only joint with the General, but placed first in the commission ; which, tho' it was a manifest neglect and a token of his Majesty's mistrust of him, he nevertheless dissembled his displeasure, left by any such disputes the hands of the enemies might be strengthened, and the service hindered ; and therefore advised the said Earle and old Major General Monro, whose name was also put in the Commission, not to proceed to the said modelling till the inconveniences thereof in the unpaid state of the army, with the danger of breaking the horse and dragoons, were first represented by a letter, signed by all three, to the King ; and because the Earle of Portland signified the King's pleasure to be, that the trooper's horses belonging to his Majesty should be kept in the country, for which the King would allow tenpence the horse dayly, he proposed that the King, making the allowance but twopence more a horse, might keep those troops as they were in service, for the security of the kingdom, till the Parliament should meet. The necessity of which meeting he had taken the liberty to represent to the King himself, in these terms : that, whatever men might persuade his Majesty to the contrary, he could assure him, that there was but one of two ways to maintain his Majesty's authority in that kingdom, either by the way of Parliament, or that of a well paid army, capable to subdue and keep it in awe in spite of all the contending factions ; and that whosoever represented otherwise to his Majesty might see to it ; as for him, he discharged his own conscience in the sincere advertisement which he had given of matters from time to time. Upon the letter advertising the King of the inconvenience which might occur to his service by the cashiering of the horse and dragoons, it was

left to them to licentiate or keep them, if the treafury could furnifh where-withall ; but the three foot regiments were broke, whereby the fervice loft nothing, becaufe a regiment for Colonel Cunninghame was formed of them, and a company added to every one of the other fix ; and the treafury granted for fubfiftence only to a troop of horfe about 70 lib., one of dragoons odds of 50 lib., and a company of foot 20 lib. fterling, which ferved only to fatiffy a little of the fouldiery, but not to make them fubfift, nor that with fo little pay they could live without troubling the inhabitants.

The General finding the feafon advancing apace, and no regard had, fo far as he could judge, of his propofitions, moved in council to write a letter to the King, concerning the three frigates, which he defired, and that the Council fhould recommend to the Lord Secretary to prefs the difpatch of them, as alfo of the other particulars above mentioned ; which had fo much effect, that the King ordered the fending of the frigates, as likewife, 500 firelocks, 200 *chevaux de frife*, with fome ammunition, and 1500 fpades, fhovels, and pickaxes ; and finding that the provifions and other neceffaries, could not be had timely enough for the execution of his defign of Innerlochy in the fore-mentioned method, and the King fending no money down for the requifite preparations thereto ; and confidering, that whatfoever was propofed in council, they fhould depute a quorum of their number, to whom he might give the opening of the way he defigned to proceed for the reduction of the Highlands. Which being ordered, he told them, that if their country were not fpeedily fettled in peace it fhould not be found his fault. And fo, having made a full relation of all his propofitions to the King, about two months before, affured them that he would not fpare his perfon, pains, and all the endeavours he fhould be found capable of, to bring their troubles to a fpeedy end ; whereto he prayed them to contribute their part as having more intereft therein than he, who fought none in Scotland but the public ; adding, that the time being paff for the enterprize of Innerlochy by water, he was, upon good grounds, afraid that the ennemy would be fo foon abroad, and find fuch

a ready disposition in the most part of the kingdom, particularly the northern parts thereof, to joyn with them, as might endanger the government, considering the distance and extent of quarters; because, that if the rebels, as he was sure they would, prevent us in the fields, they would separate our quarters, so that we could get no considerable body of our forces any where together to oppose them. To prevent such dangers, since they must needs (said he,) leave the forces so lodged as they then were, till they could be in readiness to put to the field, except they resolved to make the enemy master of a great part of the kingdom, he proposed for the next best remedy, to make a detachment of 600 chosen men to embark upon three or four ships of burden, with provisions for three months, to be sent upon the enemy's coast, most of them being Islanders, or dwelling upon the north-west coasts of the kingdom; and with them to send the spades, shovels, and pickaxes, with the pallisades, all to be ready against the arrival of the frigates, whereof, by a letter from the Lord Secretary, the Council was assured with the first fair wind. By which method he proposed to give the combined Highlanders such a diversion and jealousy upon their coasts, that they should not much trouble the low country, nor be able to come out formidable enough to give us much trouble till he could be ready to put to the field. For which, said he, there would be necessary a considerable quantity of meal, as well for the forces during their being in Lochaber, as to leave the garrison of the fort which was to be built provided for some months; as also planks and other wood, for houses or lodges for the garrison, with ships to carry all thither; for all which 5 or 600 lib. sterling would go a great length. And the news being come of one of the frigates being cast away, he proposed to the Committee to hire a little frigate of about 20 guns, newly built at Glasgow. To all those particulars was opposed the impossibility of getting the money, one of the Lords of the Treasury there present assuring them, that all they could engage for might be the provisions of the 600 men which were proposed for a diversion; so that it was resolved the Committee should write to the King, giving his Majesty an account of the

General's propolitions, which they judged might be very effectual ; as also of the emptiness of their coffers, praying his Majesty to order 4 or 5000 lib. to begin the preparations, because they were not well able to dispatch the first detachment of 600 men ; which, if the General had not got the Provost and town of Glasgow engaged to undertake the furnishing of the said 600 men, it had not been done by a month so soon as it was, whereby the whole designed advantage of it had been lost.

The General had, toward the beginning of January, commanded Sir Thomas Livingston, (who lay at Aberdeen since the month of August that he had called him to his assistance) with his regiment to the north, because he knew more of the country and the nature of the people, with their inclinations, than any other he had to send ; besides, that his regiment was in reputation by the enemy ; to whom he gave very special instructions, according to the idea which he formed of the enemy's designs, as well as the dispositions they were like to meet with in the neighbouring countries, in case they drew to the field to prevent our forces. Which instructions the General renewed or altered according as the face of things changed from time to time, and as he received intelligence from Sir Thomas, as well as out of Lochaber, from among the enemy, whence he had his weekly accounts, or oftner.

In the beginning of March the Danish horse, according to the King's resolution to have them transported from the west of Scotland to Ireland, because of the shortness of the passage, began to approach Edinburgh, which obliged the General to make a turn thither, to see the first regiment of them embarked and sent away ; because these people being behind in their pay, and having no other motive to the service than their own private interest, as all auxiliary forces are ordinarily disposed, grumbled ; therefor, he was willing to see the first of them pleasantly dispatched, to which he thought his presence might contribute to serve for an example for the following two, who would not venture readily to show less zeal for the service than the first, an example being often of use in those cases. At the same time, he engaged the city of

Glasgow to hire ships, and make the necessary provisions for the speedy dispatch of the 600 men, which he designed for the enemy's coast, to make diversion, under the command of Major Ferguson, a resolute well-affected officer, to whose discretion and diligence he trusted much. He engaged the magistrates of the said city also to furnish and send away with the detachment, 5000 pallasades, with 500 spades, shovels, and pick-axes, to make up 2000 in all with the 1500 sent down from England, which he had ordered to Glasgow, to be sent away with the party ; knowing, that if those things were left to the care of the government (whose it ought to have been, the General having neither money or credit to furnish them) he had certainly been disappointed at the time they should be made use of, as he had been, the first year of this war, of all things necessary to further the service, whereby, tho' he had learned the way, yet did the means fail him to provide against the like disappointments for his ensuing campaign, the Court never answering the least word upon his reiterate representations, tho' he painted forth the inconveniences which the neglect of the Scots affairs might probably bring upon the government, particularly during his Majesty's intended absence in Ireland in very free terms, being willing that this free and hard language might have one of two effects, either that the service might be the better provided for, or himself removed out of that command ; tho' he desired the former rather, because that he was sensible that another of much more capacity and knowledge of the war could not comprehend that sort of service, nor execute the designs which he had formed and judged to be the only way to disembarass the government of that barbarous enemy as he himself ; which besides that he had already been a twelvemonth engaged against them, being an Highlander himself by birth, and of one of the reputedest families for a number of good resolute men among them, and which formerly had special correspondence and good understanding with all the Highlanders at this time in rebellion : he had better ways to know their numbers, interests, and inclinations, and so more able to take sure measures than others. For in the war we must be informed of the circum-

stances of our enemies, otherwise we shall never enterprize any thing but in incertitude, (I speake as to humane appearances) and, consequently with apprehension and fear of the issue, which makes men lyable to change measures upon such reports as often the enemy are authors of, to render our undertakings by such precautions as our ignorance of the enemy's state doth necessarily occasion, slow and uncertain, whereby time and opportunity is lost. But tho' the General had but little or no allowance for contingencies, he was so well instructed of the enemy's circumstances, that he was humanly sure of his design, if such as had all the trust of that kingdom had not designedly opposed him, which, tho' he was put to great difficulties and some incertitude, yet pleased it God's Providence to crown his upright design and pains against the enemies of His truth, in spite of his enemies, who laboured to make it fail in his hand, their malice blinding their judgement, so that they could not discover that his disappointment could not but bring prejudice to their Majesties service, to which the General believed they wished well on the main, tho' they would have it done by other hands and ways than his. And since we are upon the subject of those differences, let us say a word of the occasion of them as the General had often and publicly enough declared.

The first occasion of the misunderstanding betwixt the Lord Secretary and him seemed to have been upon the subject of Tarbat, as was touched above, who being cousin-german to Melvill, he was highly concerned for him, besides that being but a weak, timorous sort of man himself as to government, wherein he had never been exercised before, tho' very cunning in driving on his own private designs, and called to such an eminent post as to be secretary of a kingdom to which the King was so necessarily a stranger, he had need of the advice of such an able statesman as happily any is in Europe; so far as he hath been employed, in proposing and resolving matters with the King, and putting him upon true methods for the government of that kingdom; 2dly, as he had got most of all places of trust as to the civil government to depend upon him, being in the hands of his children, relations, or creatures, he designed likewise to have the

chief command of the army to his son Levin, tho but an unexperienced young man, as void of direction, as uncapable to follow that of others; whereto they judged that to make the service fail in the General's hands, or to have the kingdom secured by other ways than that which he proposed would be the likeliest way to attain: besides, that Melvil now being chosen the King's commissioner for the ensuing session of Parliament, in whose hands he was to leave the whole trust of Scotland, was desirous the settlement of the nation should be effectuated so as he should have the honour of it, as one of the good effects of his government, which might tend to the better establishment of his favour and credit by the King, wherein his politicks certainly were limited, having nothing of a publick spirit. Tarbat laying hold upon those inclinations of the Secretary, as the General upon good ground suspected, . . . . .

Here ended these Memoires.

What follows was found among the rest of the Lieutenant-Generals papers, being the notes he had written in Scotland, and of which he wrote the foregoing Memoirs.

Tarbat having easily discovered the passion of Melvill to have the chief command of the forces in Scotland in his son, Levin's hands, did not fail to entertain him in the notion of it upon several accounts. 1st, Being the General's enemy, he was glad to find occasion to do him prejudice, and therefor persuaded Melvill, as the said General suspected, upon apparent grounds, that, to make way for his sons advancement, the settlement of the Highlands must be accomplished another way than the General proposed; which at the same time would add a merit to his ministry in Scotland, whereby his credit would be raised and well established by the King, who, conceiving well the prejudice and hindrance his more important affairs might receive from the disorders of that kingdom, condescended willingly that the Highland rebels should be bought off with considerable

distribution of money, according to their different circumstances, among them ; for which treaty Melvill had full power from the King. But the question was, who should be intrusted with the negotiation thereof. At first the Earle of Breadalbin came in consideration, but he would have 5000 lib. for himself, which Melvill, who loved to profit of those occasions as much as any else, thought too much ; wherefor he obtained an order from the King to one Hill, who had commanded in Cromwell's time in the Highlands, to repair to Edinburgh, and there to follow such directions as he should receive from his commissioner, meaning Melvill, who, about this time, came from the King to Scotland to represent his Majesty in the ensuing session of Parliament ; to the end that Hill, being acquaint with all the Highlanders engaged in the Rebellion, and esteemed of them, might be employed to treat with them, touching their laying down of arms upon the receipt of such sums of moneys he and they should contract for. Which designs were a carrying on without the least communication with, or advice of the General, by Melvill, pushed earnestly upon the account foresaid of his own as well as families establishment in all places of trust, either civil or military, for the compassing whereof all obstacles be removed, by representing some disaffected and dangerous, and others incapable.

Tarbat, besides his hatred to the General, had two views in the matter : the one, that if King James's party happened to prevail, he could, by undeniable testimonies, prove that he was the author of the counsel, which hindred all endeavours for the reduction of the Highlands under their Majesty's government, and if the Highlanders happened to be satisfied with the offers, he made his court with the King and his first minister of state, and only trustee for the affairs of that Kingdom.

Argyle's claims upon most of those Highland chiefs estates seemed to be the great obstacle in the matter, as indeed it had been the occasion of their taking arms as well as their opiniatry in their rebellion, considering that the said Earle had countenanced his Majesty's enterprize by accompanying him out of Holland, being besides a person of considerable

command of men, and was not to be disobliged, without which they imagined they could not have been secured ; tho we have reason to believe, that less money than was proposed to be distributed among the Highland chiefs might have bought off the said Earle's pretentions, which of the two had been the likeliest way to prove effectual.

The General, having given order for the provisions for the detachments with the frigates, and shipped for Ireland Colonel Joel's regiment of Danish horse, came to Edinburgh, where he found the Earle of Melvill newly come down commissioner to the Parliament, to whom, tho' he had been advertised of his designs against him, he gave account of the state of affairs as to the war, of his designs and the length he had disposed things for the execution of them, proposing in council, that a Commissary General of the provisions should be named to make stores in time, and without delay, that the service for want of them should not be disappointed, as it had more than once fallen out the year before : whereby he was taught the necessary precaution for the present, if he had wherewithall to supply them.

The council out of deference for the Commissioner leaving to him to name a fit man for that important employe, the General made dayly applications here ; but, notwithstanding he urged many undeniable arguments for a speedy resolution, as that the enemies of the Government would be encouraged by the King's absence and the small number of forces to be left in the Isle of Brittain to trouble his Government, if timely measures were not taken to secure the Highlands by a great garrison at Innerlochy ; that there must be acted by land in concert with the detachment by sea to astonish the enemies the more ; that the proper season for such an enterprize, which doth not last long in the Highlands, where the rains, rendring the ways as well as the works impracticable, begin early among those mountains, must be managed and not let pass without doing any thing ; notwithstanding, I say, those and the like reasons, and the General's letters to the Earle of Portland complaining of the Commissioners methods, with assurance there were no effectual measures to force those people to obedience, but by garrisons, he kept the matter in suf-

pence five or fix weeks, and at laft instead of a well affected, generous, capable perfon, and a man of credit, who toward the latter end of the former campaign had acted as Commiffary of the provifions, he placed a man there, who knew nothing of it, and depended abfolutely on his own orders.

Nevertheless the General, who had no defign in Scotland but to contribute to its peace and then to quite it, winked at thofe defigns, the more becaufe he difcovered his letters to Court met with very little credit, the King as well as Portland being preoccupied by the falfe notion, which Melvill and Tarbat had given them of the matters of the Highlands, withal being perfwaded that labouring for a power independent of Melvill, to whom the King left the entire truft of the kingdom, he would loofe his pains, the feafon, and confequently the fervice; wherefor he gave orders for the neceffary provifions of bread, materials for the garrifon, and tranfport fhips to come all about before the forces would march further, and put 4000 lib: which the King had fent him to help forward the expedition in the hands of the faid Commiffary, Melvill's creature, to avoid fufpicion of his putting of any part of it to his own ufe.

At this time, much about the midle of April 1690, the club joyn'd in Parliament with the Jacobites, thinking by that means to overvote that which was called the Court party, and feverals of them effayed to debauch Major Fergufon, after it had been publick the General had appointed him to command the detachment of land forces along with the frigates; to whom the faid Major, who is a vigorous and well affected man, difcovered all their propofals, not filencing a letter from a very near relation of his own to the fame purpofe; whereby the General gave prefent notice to the Commiffioner and thereafter to the King.

Mean time Fergufon being kept up, the matter of five weeks, waiting for his provifions, the General communicated to feveral perfons the defign of that detachment, giving the party out for more in number than it was, that the ennemy might be advertifed of it, whereby they fhould be hindred from giving any confiderable numbers of men to Buchan and Canon, who

prefst them fore to take the field ; which took the projected effect, for instead of 4 or 5000 they might have made up among them, I mean such as were of Lochaber with their neighbours and the adjacent islanders who had combined from the beginning, they had made only a levy of 7 or 800 men, and sent them out with the said Buchan, whom King James had sent the same winter to command for him in Scotland, who together with Canon took the field with the said number much about the 20th of April ; while the gros of the rebels, particularly such as dwelt near the sea with the inhabitants of the isles staid at home to guard their country against the frigates, with Ferguson's detachment, at the very noise whereof they were very much terrified.

The General being informed of Buchan's taking the field, ordered Livingston, who commanded three regiments of foot, his own of dragoons, and some troops of horse at and about Innernefs, to observe them, and labour, by a detachment of the best of his men, to get a catch of them, or at least to hinder the growth of their number ; but having got notice of them, and made two several marches towards the place where he was advertised they were, he found great difficulty to get his horse and dragoons subsisted in forrage, as well as his foot in victuals, and so was forced, by the ennemy's retreat to the hills, to retire also to Innernefs. At last, being informed that many even of such as were hitherto in our party, at least by outward appearance, would joyn them if they were not opposed speedily, he detached an exprefs to the General, to advertise him of their progress, and the disposition of the greatest part of the northern countries to joyn them ; and with his own regiment, about 300 men, 400 of Leslie's, a company of 100 brisk Highlanders of Lord Rae's men, which the General had taken into the service a twelvemonth before, six companies of Grant's regiment, making about 800 men, and two troops of horse, in all about 1200 choise men, he marched eight miles from Innernefs, upon the way toward the place where he had advertisement the ennemy lay, to wait further intelligence, and to joyn the said detachment from their particular quarters.

Upon Livingston's exprefs the General ordered 3000 men, which lay at Stirling, Dundee, Glaſgow and other places, to draw together to St. Johnftoun at the entry of the country of Athole, both to be ready to move with them, if the north countries ſhould begin to get to arms upon that ſmall appearance of Buchan and Canon, and to keep the more ſouthern Highlands at home, for fear that body ſhould fall into their country and deſtroy them, being reſolved, without neceſſity, not to ſtir from that poſt till things were in readineſs to march into Lochaber, and the ſhips with the proviſions and the materials, were ſent about, leaſt the forces, there being no proviſions ready yet, ſhould be ſpoyled for the main deſign; and ordered Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, brother to him that commanded the ennemy's party for King James, with a battalion of Colonel Ramſay's regiment, the regiment of Angus, and five troops of horſe and dragoons which lay at Aberdeen and in the county of that name, to march upon Livingston's orders, who, by his inſtructions, was ordered to call the forces out of the next quarters to his aſſiſtance upon occaſion.

Livingſton, mean time, being camped within eight miles of Strathſpey, belonging to the Laird of Grant, who was in the King's intereſt, and Colonel and Privy Counſellor in his ſervice, got advertiſement from a Captain of the ſaid Grant's regiment, who had his company in a caſtle near where the ennemy lay, that they were come down out of Badenoch to the foreſaid country of Strathſpey, marched out of his quarter in the afternoon, and continued his march till within two miles of the caſtle from whence he had the intelligence; where, finding his men weary, a difficult paſs betwixt him and the caſtle, and it being already very dark and well advanced in the night, he would gladly have camped; but not finding a convenient place, and by the perſwaſion of an officer which undertook to guide him through the paſs, he puſhed forward, not knowing as then the very place where the ennemy lay, but that the night before they were in that country, according to the intelligence he had had from the fore-mentioned Captain; whereby we may clearly diſcover the overruling providence of God in the directions of things here below. For if Livingſton

had known the Highlanders had been camped within a mile and a half on the other side of that pass, not being very confident of the people of that country, tho' seemingly of our interest, he had never ventured to pass it in the night; nor had the enemies, if they had suspected in the least such a march, come from the place whence he had the last news of them, where he could have done them no harm, to camp upon a plain a great mile and a half from any strong ground, just as if they had been led thither by the hand, as an ox to the slaughter.

The Captain who kept the castle having been advertised of Livingston's so near approach, locked the gates of the said castle, permitting none of all the gentlemen of the country which came into him to avoid the enemy, to go out again, lest Buchan should be advertised of our forces approach. Livingston being arrived the length of the castle about two of the clock in the morning upon the first day of May, was by the said Captain advertised of the enemy's post which he shewed him by the fires, offering to be his guide thither himself. Who having called the officers of his party together, sent them each to his detachment to propose the attack of the enemy to them, in case they found themselves capable enough to undergo that little fatigue more, for he knew them to be very weary; to which they answered, they were very ready to undergo that and more to be at them, and that none of them should forsake him. Having then given them an half hour to refresh both men and horse, he marched down by a covered way to the river, where there was a ford guarded by 100 men of the enemy, whither he made a detachment of foot with some few dragoons to amuse them, and marched his grooms to another ford below that a quarter of a mile, according as Captain Grant guided him, and having past his Highland company before him, he followed with 3 troops of dragoons, and a troop of horse; and by that time he was out of the river, seeing the enemy take the alarm as moving confusedly as irresolute men, he sent orders to the rest of his regiment, which was after his foot, with the other troop of horse, to join; and pushing betwixt the Highlanders and the hills with what he had, past at

the gallop, wherein the Highland company outrun his horse and got the hill of them, who, seeing him so weak, resolved to stand; but upon the sight of the rest of his party, which was following with all the speed they could make, they began to run for it; and Livingston with his major, a brisk young gentleman, mixt with them, killing and making prisoners about 400; and few would have escaped them, had not a sudden fog favoured the enemy's flight, and obliged him to cause beat a retreat. He lost 7 or 8 horses, but no men in that surprize: the news whereof did very much good to the King's affairs both in Scotland and England, by abating the confidence of their Majesties enemies in both Parliaments. So little a matter falling out seasonably can give a turn to affairs of the highest importance, whereby at the same time we can see what influence the state of affairs in Scotland hath upon those of England: For this little advantage helped not a little to dispose things favourably for their Majesty's service at Westminster as well as at Edinburgh, which we may clearly see by what hath been said above, as well as by the favourable effects following upon it, to be the direction of God's providence, which, tho' it interpose in all the actions of the creatures, is as to our conceptions nevertheless more visible in some things than others. For to this concurred that Livingston had no intelligence of the enemy's being so very near the pass; that when he was taken by the night, he could get no place to camp in; that an officer engaged to lead him by a pretty good way through the pass, where being engaged and finding it so ill, was offended with his too officious guide; that the captain of the castle, who had never served but some months, fell upon such a discreet method to keep the march of Livingston undiscovered, and that Buchan, so far contrar to the usual method of the Highlanders, came the same night out of a secure ground, where Livingston could not get any advantage of him, to a place where he lay so exposed and within distance of his enemy, notwithstanding that he knew there were odds of 2400 horse, foot and dragoons within a days march of him: which by the way shows that none can readily carry on a design in any ground without it be well known to

them, no more than they can well secure themselves from the designs of their enemy's; and that without intelligence it is a rare matter to advance any thing in our trade; for tho' Sir Thomas Livingston did all what could be expected of a diligent carefull officer, the captain of the castle, altogether a novice, seemed to have had the greatest share in this favourable success: as is reported of a general, who of late had engaged himself in a ground with a great army, where he had perished, knowing no way to disengage himself, if a poor country woman had not discovered a passage to him, for the two ways known to him were possessed by the enemy and well guarded, and if they had not been ignorant of the third as well as he, he had starved with his army, and been ruined without fighting.

The Heads of the Progress of the War against the Rebels in the Year  
1690, in Scotland.

Six hundred men were ordered about to the rebels coasts under Major Fergusson, but did not sail from Greenock till the 15th of May; nevertheless, the very expectation of them hindered the rebels from coming in any considerable number out of their country with Buchan and Canon.

The 1st of May Sir Thomas Livingston being informed, that Buchan and Canon were come out of Lochaber to the neighbourhood of Innernefs, went out with his dragoons and some horse and foot, to the number of 1200, and surprized much about the same number of the rebels in Strathspay, killing, and making prisoners about 400, and scattering the rest, which hindered all further undertaking of theirs, till the forces marched into Lochaber.

A fortnight before that surprize, I ordered a body of some horse and foot to Perth to be ready to march to the enemy, in case he should seem to ingross his number; with much wrestling and dispute with the Commissioner, who laboured all he could to hinder the expedition of Lochaber

I obtained the King's liberty, by an express I sent to meet him at Chester, to march into Lochaber, and sent orders to Ferguson to meet me with his detachment at Innerlochy, together with the ships of provisions which were sent about to him.

The 18th of June, notwithstanding the Commissioner gave me a general account of dangerous plots against the government both in England and Scotland, judging it would be the readiest way to secure us from the Highlanders, which I considered as the most dangerous enemy we could expect, I marched from St. Johnston with about 3000 horse and foot; and having made a motion towards the shortest way to Badenoch, to alarm the enemy, as if I intended that way, I turned to the right, because the other way would lead me within a short day's march of the enemy, with whom in that country, full of defiles and difficult passes, I had not a mind to venture in action, till I had joined the forces from the north under Livingston; it being a maxim in our trade, without necessity to put nothing to an apparent hazard, when the success is of great importance.

The 26th of June, having joined Livingston in Strathispey, I marched up to Badenoch; after a day's rest to the forces, to the place of junction.

The first of July, having made a feint by four troops of horse and dragoons towards a strait pass where the enemy expected me, as judging I could enter their country no other way, after due information I changed suddenly my march to the left, having before ordered the officer commanding the foresaid four troops, to retire after such an halt as he could judge sufficient for the country men which were ill affected to send intelligence to the enemy of my approach that way towards them, to retire and join my rear guard; and through mountains and boggy ways entered Lochaber by Glenfearn, where no body expected me that night.

And on the 3d, arrived at Innerlochy, where the situation of the old fort did not please me, being commanded from a near hill, but could not change it, there being none else so fit.

The 5th I began to work at the Fort, and in 11 days got it at its full height, the matter of 20 foot from the bottom of the fosse, palisaded

round, with a *chemin couvert* and glacis, a perfect defence against all attempts of such an enemy.

About the 17th ditto, when I had given order for the march of a party, to the Isle of Mull, and shipped their provisions, letters came from the council giving an account of the disaster of the fleets, and of the apprehension of a landing in England and Scotland, and desiring me to repair with all speed south with the forces; upon which I countermanded the party for Mull, willing to march as formidable as I could south, not knowing what occasion the Queen might have of succours in England.

I marched the 18th away, leaving 1000 men in garrison in the new built fort, with 2000 bolls of meal, 30 hogshheads of acquavitæ, 500 pound sterling in money, and 60 fat cows, and making each souldier carry 8 days provisions of meal, the baggage horses having been taken, lost, and deserted to a very few.

I arrived the 20th by easy marches in Badenoch. The 21st, leaving the army camped to rest a day, I went with a party of 140 horse and dragoons to Ruthen Castle which the rebels had burnt the year before, and having considered an old square wall within which the garrison could camp securely from surprize or insult, I left the Highland company of Lord Rae's men within it, with tents to lodge them till they should have shelters made, and ordered the commander how he should pallisade it about with a breast work. From thence I marched the 22d towards Athole the shortest way, and arrived at Perth the 26th, where having got notice that Buchan and Canon had got some 200 horse together, I ordered the forces from Stirling to march straight to them, while I waited for some bisket from Dundee to march with a detachment of the forces to labour to intercept them, but they were gone before those posted at Stirling went out, and past through the heights of Athole to Braemar, so that I could not overtake them, in two days that I marched after them, after I had sent the forces to a quarter of refreshing, except about 1000, with which I followed them.

But the 3d day, seeing I could not overtake them, and not being pro-

vided for a longer march, I returned to Stirling, from whence I dispatched three troops of Cardross's dragoons and one of horse, to fortify the Master of Forbes who had two of horse and two of dragoons for the guard of Aberdeen-shire, judging these eight troops sufficient for any thing which should joyn the enemy upon his appearance in that country, while mean time, I laid the Lochaber army in quarters to be refreshed till I had certain news how matters went in England, for which I wrote several letters to the Earle of Marlborough, whereof, if I had got speedy answer, I could have taken more timely measures. About this time, Buchan and Canon having got joined to their horse some 5 or 600 Highlanders under Innerrey, with which reinforcement they left 160 men to block up and starve a garrison of 70 men I had in Abergeldie, descending with the rest down the country to joyn some gentlemen who favoured their party in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Merns.

Upon their descent into the Low Country, Jackson and the Master of Forbes, opposed them with 8 troops of horse and dragoons, a sufficient force against any party the rebels had as then; but their approach to one another, made them equally afraid of one another, so that Buchan, to deceive his enemy, ranged his few foot very much at large, and mixed all his baggage beasts and other horses for which he had no men to mount them in his ranks, which took the designed effect; for our men, astonished with the imaginary number of the enemy, retired from them, and afterwards turned their pace to a gallop, for 16 miles till they got Aberdeen; whether the enemy followed them being reinforced considerably upon that little appearance of advantage by the junction of several noblemen and gentlemen, so that the Magistrates of Aberdeen not being well composed, our men were afraid the enemy would force them, the town lying altogether open and without defence.

Upon the alarm of this disorder, I dispatched Colonel Cunningham in all diligence, with his own regiment, 6 companies of Beveridge's, 10 companies of Kenmore's, making but 300 men, and a troop of horse with one of dragoons to labour to get Jackson joined; but the enemy having got

betwixt them, and finding no appearance of a landing in England, (tho' as yet I got no return from Marlborough,) I dispatched north myself, with Livingston's dragoons and 1400 foot of the three Dutch regiments without the least baggage or provisions for the forces. By this time, the enemy leaving Aberdeen, marched southward, upon advertisement of my motion, past over the hills to the north, whither I followed them, tho' hindred some days to order and wait for provisions, and ordered the troops under Jackson where to join me. Being come to the river of Dee, I left Cunningham with his detachment posted at the Castle of Aboyn to cover the march of Jackson, and marched with my party to Abergeldie, to relieve, strengthen and provide that garrison, and by the way, by a detachment of 60 dragoons, under Major Mackay, defeat Innerey in the hills with 200 good Highlanders, and burnt all the country about the garrison, because they had blockt that house.

The next day I came down again, and having joined all the forces which I had in the north, except what lay at Innernefs, and finding no certain intelligence of the enemy, I marched a day's march more to the north the length of Strathdone, where having got some uncertain notice that the enemy moved towards the county of Murray, and threatened a little country town called Elgin, leaving the foot behind me for the more dispatch, I made all the haste possible, and that the more because at the same time I found all the north in a design to join them, ordering the foot, if I did not call for them in a day or two, to march to Aberdeen to be supplied with provisions, and because the weather was bad. Mean time having got certain intelligence of the enemy's march to the north, and their expectation of the junction of several thousands, I marched with all the diligence possible, losing no time, but what was absolutely necessary to refresh the horses, and came within four hours march to them before they had notice of me, which made them retire from before Innernefs where they had designed an attack, as soon as the Earle of Seaforth, (who had gathered as his Highlanders together for that purpose,) with others of their party, should have joined them.

Upon my unexpected approach, and Buchan's sudden retreat, the Earle of Seaforth was so intimidated, that he sent two gentlemen of his name to offer all the security for his peaceable behaviour I could desire; whom I returned with answer, that I could accept of none but his person prisoner, which after much repugnancy, being threatened with the present destruction of all his own and his friends interest, he condescended to, desiring only the favour that I should send out a party by night to make the fashion of surprizing him, to which I condescended, sending out so formidably, as he could do them no harm: But the Earle, upon second thoughts, disappointed the party, excusing himself of the breach of promise, upon pretext he could not suffer restraint. Whereupon resolving to treat his vassals with all the rigour of military execution, I detached one Major Wilheart, a pretty sensible man, who had been a considerable time in the country, with 200 chosen foot, to whom I ordered the junction of 900 Highlanders of the Earle of Sutherland's, the Lord Rae's and the Laird of Balnagown's men, to fall into all the countries under the obedience of the said Earle accessible to horse, to burn their houses and take their goods, which I declared good prize; resolving to march myself with all the horse and dragoons and three battalions of foot (which I ordered to joyn me from Aberdeen, lest the weakness of my party might embolden Buchan with the Highlanders and Seaforth to return upon me) into his plain country. Notwithstanding which dispositions, being more willing to have him prisoner than to ruine his friends, who were all protestants, and none of the most dangerous enemies, I caused convey advertisement to the Earle's camp, as it were by an act of his friendship from some of my party unknown.

An Account of the Expedition of the Highlanders, and Particulars for  
the Year 1690. By MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY.

The King having signified to the said Major-General, (who had solicited hard for permission to go for Holland during the winter season,) that his pleasure was that he should stay in Scotland till the things were further settled: knowing the irregularity of that kingdom the precedent year, by which means there was not such advantages got of the rebels as otherwise might be expected, applied himself early to his Majesty that such measures might be taken, that the only formidable rebels then in the kingdom might be subdued by placing a garrison at Innerlochy; so soon in the spring, that the most part of the forces then in Scotland might thereafter be employed elsewhere, as their Majesty's service should require: Which design he proposed to effectuate with 3000 men only, the government being at the expences to provide them of shipping and boats for landing, with the help of three frigates to convoy them, and cut off the communication of the rebels of the Isles with those of the main land, and to have some spades, shovels and pickaxes furnished from England, for casting up of ground and building a Fort, with some money to make provisions for six weeks only. Which design was certainly very feasible; but things not answering so readily from England as was expected, by reason of the great preparations for the Irish expedition, and the Government being unable to supply those expences, tho' but inconsiderable in Scotland, things wained on without that the Major-General could have any return of his propositions till it was near the month of March; at which time being assured of the frigates, as well as spades and shovels, and knowing the design of enterprizing with a considerable party by water was broke, he proposed to the privy council to choose some of their number, who might hear what the said Major-General had to propose touching the way to proceed against the enemy the ensuing campaign.

Which being granted, he gave to that committee an account of what he had wrote to court; and seeing he was disappointed in all likelihood of his first expectation, he proposed that preparations should be made for 600 land forces with ships to transport them along with the frigates, which were expected to the coasts of the rebels, by which means he sustained that not only the Isles should be incapacitate to land any men for the succour of their friends and party in Lochaber; but that whole party, which were the principal rebels, would be obliged to stay at home to guard their own country, and to make such a diversion of the enemy's forces, that they should not be able to fall in betwixt our quarters, which necessarily were extended to a great distance, in any considerable number, till we could be ready as to subsistence for horse and men to put to the field. To the effectuating of which design, the Lords of the Treasury undertook to furnish 600 pound sterling, but had certainly been left imperfected, so great was the disorder and poverty of the government, had not the town of Glasgow, out of zeal for their Majesties service, advanced credit for those small provisions, with 5000 palliades, which the Major-General ordered to be dispatched with that party.

The project had so good effect, that the very noise of it occasioned such alarm among the rebels, that Buchan and Canon could only bring towards the latter end of April 800 of their worst men, the rest not daring to leave their country for fear of the frigates and the detachment foresaid. Which party of Buchan's being reinforced with some Badenoch men and others, advanced towards the Laird of Grant's country, where Sir Thomas Livingstone fell upon them very opportunely, (the parliament being then in great heats,) killing and taking prisoners about 400, and dispersing the rest, which fell out upon the first of May.

In the month of March the Major-General being returned from Glasgow, where he was ordering the provisions for the detachment of 600 men, and the embarkation of the Danish horse, waited upon the Earle of Melvill, newly come down his Majesty's Commissioner for the Scots parliament, and discoursed with him, touching the design he had formed, to

march into Lochaber with a considerable body of the forces to build a fort at Innerlochy, as the only feasible way appearing to him of reducing the rebels to obedience, and proposed to his Grace a fit and well affected person, and of good credit, a necessary quality, considering the state of the finances, to officiate as Commissary or Provisor-General for that campaign, who should make timely provisions of biscuit, meal, aquavita, deals and other wood for building of barracks or casernes for the soldiers in the fort that was to be built at Innerlochy, with ships for the transport of all the provisions and materials, both for subsistence and work. Which person his Grace rejected, seemingly upon the account that he would have 1000 lbs. yearly for salary for himself and twelve assistants or deputies, tho' I objected, that it were better for the King to give that summe than lose one week of the fit season to go about his service: And certainly we lost near six weeks by the shift; besides, that the Receivers-General of their Majesty's revenues, who were afterwards employed, did not understand, nor minded it, as he would have done, having officiated in the same charge the year before.

In this mean time of the commissioners irresolution, whether of design, as the Major-General suspected, or by his natural temper, I know not; but a certain Colonel Hill, who in former times had been Governor of Innerlochy, coming by the King's order over from Ireland, a project was set on foot to subdue the Highlands by him, with a summe of money without forces. And for that end he was dispatched to Inverness with power to treat with some of the considerablest of the rebels, without so much as the least communication thereof to the Major-General, in so much that the said Hill was 8 days away before he knew any thing of the design. Whereof being advertised, he laughed at the nonsense to imagine to bind such people void of all principles of honesty by any other engagement than that of force, but held his peace to see what should come of it, only pushed on his preparations. To which the Commissioner seemed to give way, tho' there was certainly a design to have hindered him. Upon which a cessation of arms was proposed, and by the Commissioner granted, tho' quickly upon Livingston's

advantage recalled, that is an order to Fergufon not to act hoftility for a certain time, which was loudly mifunderftanding of matters. The rebels demanding it for two chief reafons : the one to fee how matters fhould go on in Ireland, and in expectation of fuccours from France or the faid Ireland, with fome appearance in England and on the borders by the difaffected party, with which certainly they kept intelligence ; and the other to make us lofe the fit feafon for that expedition, knowing very well that after the month of Auguft it is not poffible to fix a garrifon in that poft, becaufe of the continued rains much more abundant and frequent there than in any other part of the kingdom. This propofition I oppofed as favouring of fuch perfons as minded not well to the fervice. Withall the Commiffioner told me that it came of Broadalbin. To which I answered that Broadalbin being a known enemy to their Majefty's fervice, all his propofitions of that nature ought to be confidered accordingly. The Commiffioner replied that he held him alfo for fuch, but that it feemed he was recommended to the King for a man capable to bring off the Highlanders, and that he had his order to make ufe of him to that effect.

In fine, I difcovered that the Highlanders were reprefented to the King much more formidable than they were to be confidered, and that I fufpected for the following reafons.

1<sup>st</sup>. That the King might be put off of any defign of mine to reduce them by arms, by which the contrivers might have two marks to fhoot at, the one if King James's party fhould happen to be quite broke in Ireland, fo as not to be able to fuccour it in Scotland, they themfelves fhould be the men to bring them to obedience, whereby they would not only, as they thought, put money in their pockets, but render themfelves neceffary to their Majefties, as men who had that power over them, as to make them rebell and lay down arms at their pleafure.

The other, if upon the contrary that Jacobite intereft fhould carry it, they would have fufficiently to teftify, and not upon ill grounds, that they were the men which had contributed moft to the maintenance of that party in Scotland, as having overturned by their intereft with them who had

the trust of the Government, the infallible designs which were laid down for the reduction of the Highlands ; and the honour of this was to redound to the ministry of those in trust, as well as to the tools by which they acted in case of the former, and to the confusion of one at whom they had a prejudice, who notwithstanding of any interest as to his reputation, he might by a natural desire in men to do something upon their own account which might appear to their master good service, would certainly have acquiesced to the design of the minister, if, 1<sup>st</sup>, he could have believed that those who influenced them meant it sincerely, 2<sup>dly</sup>, if he could have conceived it effectual to the end proposed, which rationally should be, to put those rebels out of condition to trouble the Government any longer ; for in the first place, he had God the searcher of hearts to answer to, if upon any private account of his own reputation or interest he would oppose any thing which he conceived to tend for the good of the service ; next he had the hazard of the general blame of the Government and of the King himself to run, if in the execution of his way he might be disappointed of what he proposed so feasible ; which by the untoward situation of the country, might fall out without miracle, tho' more likely it should fall out otherwise : But all the accidents of war cannot be thoroughly seen of the most experimented, for the battle is not many times to the strong, nor the race to the swift, but God discerneth the victory to whomsoever he will.

Colonel Hill having essayed the Highlanders by a representation of sums of money, he found that it would not do, but that either he had not commission to present enough, or that they did expect greater endeavours in favour of King James, which made him fall in the Major General's sentiment, that without force he could do nothing.

At this pass things stood when his Majesty took journey for Chester in order to his passage for Ireland ; and the said Major-General finding that the Commissioner was influenced (as he thought he had strong ground to suspect) by persons which he judged were neither cordial for the Government, nor his well-wishers, and that the King, nor others to whom he ad-

dress'd himself about his Majesty's person, answered nothing positively to what he propos'd as to the carrying on of the war in Scotland, he dispatch'd Adjutant-General Hill to Chester, with letters to the King and the Earle of Portland, with the map of all the rebellious Highlands, and a brief description of the way he intended to proceed, with assurance, that if the security of the kingdom required a quick dispatch, he would in eight days time leave the garrison sufficiently defensible against all attempts of the enemy, and in six days easy march be back again.

Upon which his Majesty permitted him to follow his own project, tho' Broadalbin, with a recommendation from the Commissioner, post'd away to reverse it, and to offer his service to the King for the bringing off the Highlanders of King James's party, without the expences of sending an army to Lochaber, as they pretended, tho' in effect the little expences that was of it, were made already, so that the march to Lochaber, with all the work that was wrought by the forces there, (which was more than could be well believed in such a short time with such materials as the men had,) did not cost the Government above 300 lib. more than what they are to shorten of the forces, such as provisions, I say, for the march of the army, the only things which can be brought into the King's accompts being freights of ships as well for transporting of the first party, with their provisions and the palliades, spades, shovels and pickaxes, in number five sail, and the matter of 8 or 9 afterwards, with meal, deals and other wood, cannon and coals, with a frigate which they joyned to the two English frigates; for all other things are to be shortened of the forces, except it be some small items for losses, whereof no account can be given, as it falls out readily in such marches when there is too little convenience for the transport of provisions.

The Major-General having obtained the King's liberty to go on with his design, with a charge to do it as quickly as possible, having had the forces which he design'd from the south to take along with him about 3000 quartered at and about St. Johnstown, he took his leave of the Commissioner, who spoke much to him the night before of dangerous plots,

in prefence of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and the Earle of Levin, of defign, tho' happily true enough, as he the Major-General conceived, to induce him to retard his march. To which he oppofed, that tho' he knew of a certain, there were fuch defigns of the contrary party to be fpeedily fet on foot, that he was abfolutely of opinion the fafeft meafures fhould be to march with the better part of the forces againft that ennemy, to fix a garrifon at Innerlochy; which, whatever might fall out afterwards in either or both the kingdoms, would fix him at home, fo that of 4 or 5000 which (if we

Account of the late Outbreaking after the Settlement of the Garrifons of  
Lochaber and Ruthen in Badenoch.

When the better part of the forces were in Lochaber, Buchan and Canon went to the low country, believing there were not forces to hinder their defigns; the former to Aberdeenshire, with about 60 or 70 horfe, of all forts; and the latter not having above 30 horfe, moft officers and their fervants, to the Highlands of Perthshire. To him gathered together, out of defign to robb, 3 or 400 Highlanders of the fame country; which, with the apprehenfion of a rifing upon the Borders, alarmed the Commiffioner and others of the Government; who, notwithstanding they had the troop of guards, 4 troops of Cardroffes dragoons, with two troops of light horfe, making at leaft 300 horfe and dragoons, 27 or 2800 foot, fent none againft them, but permitted the country to be fpoyled, and houfes burnt, within 3 or 4 miles of Stirling. The Mafter of Forbes mean time chafed Buchan out of Aberdeenshire, with 4 troops of horfe and dragoons, making him retire to Canon. About this time the forces were on their march fouth out of Lochaber, being haftned by a letter from the Council, and paffing through Badenoch placed a garrifon in the Caftle of Ruthen, taking further march to Blair in Athole and Perth, where there were no

provisions, so that the Major-General was obliged to stay there till he had some biscuit brought to him from Dundee. At which time hearing that the rebels advertised of his approach took the hills, he marched after them with about 1000 horse and foot, but they having got the matter of 20 miles in head of him, and his party ill-provided of provisions, and having many sick, he returned them also to quarters of refreshment, not knowing what use the Queen in the then state of affairs might have of succour; therefore he lodged the most part of the forces towards the south, excepting three troops of dragoons and a troop of horse which he sent north.

General Remarks upon the Scots Wars in the Years 1689 and 1690, with the occasions of the Beginnings, increasing and continuation of the Rebellion against their Majesties Government.

That upon his Majesty's first landing in England, all Scotland was, for the most part, except Papists, rejoiced, and all the Ministers prayed for his good success, except such as were of corrupt principles of life as well as doctrine, every one being big with the expectation of advantages, and the church with that of its then government.

That a part of the nobility and gentry imagining themselves disappointed of their expectations, and finding the King somewhat more reserved than they expected, as being uncertain as then of mens inclinations, which they took for a design to favour mostly, and imploy in the government, such of that nation as accompanied him from beyond sea, came down from England quite altered in their minds.

Upon which occasion, those who had really ill designs against their Majesties interest, laid diligently hold to form a party as well in the Convention as the country, and especially among the Highlanders, to overthrow the designs of the well-affected, to put themselves, by a general act of the nation, under their Majesties government. That to make their party the stronger, the ill-affected gained most part of the Episcopal clergy, who,

beginning to despair of the continuation of that church government, cooled in their affection to their Majesties, and began to favour the designs which were a forming contrary to their establishment in the supreme government of the nation.

That it is to be presumed that the particular designs of such in whom the King reposed most trust, and by whose informations and advice he governed himself as to the affairs in Scotland, contributed not a little to the alienation of many of the principal subjects hearts from his government, whereby he might the better be informed of all their matters, but laboured to overturn that whereby they could not conceive a present prospect of advantage to themselves, tho' the ruin of religion and country would be the inevitable humane consequence of their criminal practices. That the present disorders of the English forces upon the retreat of the late King and his Majesty's administration of the government hindring the King's speedy resolution of sending supplies to Scotland and Ireland, and the despicable number which was sent to the former, emboldened Dundee, as well as the Highland clans, to declare for King James, and run to arms.

That if Dundee and his adherents had understood their advantages as well at first as they did in the prosecution of the war, and the inclination of the northern shires of the kingdom had been as determinately bent to favour their enterprize the first year of the war as it was the second, the King had apparently met with a considerable opposition to his establishment in the government, and a notable diversion for his arms, which might have hindered his other great designs, and created troubles to him in other parts of his dominions.

That the reason of the growth of the discontents, and number of the discontented, appears to be the following :—

1st, That such as by their vigorous appearance in the convention for their Majesties interest, judging that others who were longer known to his Majesty would carry the greatest share in the government, invented and managed a plausible subject of quarrelling his Majesty's councillors

upon a point wherein the interest of the subject seemed to be concerned, viz. a lawfull election of the College of Justice, how justly sustained I leave to the learned to determine ; but certain it is, that their aftersteps make it appear that their design in the thing was self-interest.

That on the other side, such as were in possession of the places of advantage in the government, willing to maintain themselves therein rather than foresee the inconveniencies and dangers of the divisions which were like to ensue, urged the King's prerogative, and the affront it would be to him to pass from an act of his royal authority, and the bad consequence of it in the beginning of his reign ; offering the examples of his predecessors in the throne, whereby [who, by ?] a gradual parting with branches of their royal prerogative were at last reduced to invincible difficulties, whereof the late troubles of these nations do afford recent examples, tho' it be very presumable that, as the other's zeal was their own establishment more than the interest of the people, so was that of the advocates of the royal prerogative, more the maintaining of their own share in the government than any true interest a Prince, without any design but the happiness of his people and the maintenance of the Protestant religion in all his perilous enterprise, had in the matter of the session, which, according to all moderate disinterested judgment, was not a matter of that moment for the King, as to hazard upon that account such divisions and factions as it did occasion even among that party which appeared the most zealous for his government, and the disorders which those divisions produced, by which the dying hopes of the enemies thereof were revived, their designs renewed and set on foot, and their party notably fortified. And if the gracious providence of God, author of this happy and opportune change for all the Protestant interest in the world, had not prevented it by his overruling directions, what dangers had we not to expect from an army eight months living upon oppression ; a people void of zeal either for religion, having very little except the form of it, or for their country oppressed by forces living at discretion ; a church divided into two parties which, tho' both Protestant, were as irreconcilable as Rome and Geneva, or Calvin and

Bellarmin ; whereof the one, assured to be outed, preached rebellion ; the other, by the frequent adjournments of parliament, fearing not to be established, at least as they would have it, threatened another ; besides the standing rebellion, and Jacobites labouring to overturn every thing which was contrary to the faction, which each of them owned.

That the counsellors of the frequent adjournments of parliament being intrusted with the management of the last session thereof, during his Majesty's absence, finding the necessity of having money for the maintenance of the government and the carrying on of the war against the rebels, and the impossibility of obtaining it without establishing of the Presbyterian Kirk government at its full height, resolved, (tho' as supposed not without warrant if otherwise could not be) to satisfy that party's desire, after it was discovered to be the carrying vote of the House ; wherety it falls under consideration whether the zeal of the ministers of state for the maintenance of the royal prerogative in the matter of the session, hath wrought such advantage for the King in any visible or supposed respect, as the too great a latitude given to the Presbyterian party in their kirk government, considering their irreconcilable prejudices against all such as have preached under bishops (tho' I will not deny but that condescension, as things then stood, was of an absolute necessity) may create to his Majesty and the government troubles hereafter, by perpetuating untoward humours and dangerous designs in the kingdom, which, tho' by force they may ly covered with ashes for a time, will upon occasion be a ready matter to flame the kingdom into a rebellion, and furnish such as would trouble the government with ground to hope for success to their pernicious designs ; it being rational to believe the great number of ministers, which by rigid trials and partial judgements may happen to be put out, tho' blameless in their life and doctrine, and ready to comply with and preach under the present church government, as established by law, tho' they cannot abjure the former as unlawfull and unchristian, shall in their private meetings and separate assemblies, labour to entertain such as are devoted more to Episcopacy than Presbytery, as well as their children in a liking of the

former and dislike of the latter. Besides that, it is a notable obstacle to a present peaceable settlement of the kingdom, and therefore that it is offered most humbly to his Majesty's royal consideration, whether it be not a matter worthy of his reflection, to hinder gently as much as possible the design of depriving of their churches in Scotland such as the greater part of their congregation are well pleased with, those against whose lives and doctrine nothing can upon just grounds be objected, and are willing to own and comply with the present Government in Church and State, especially in the northern parts of Scotland, which certainly as his Majesty's affairs at present do stand, by the blessing of God upon his glorious enterprizes, would notably contribute to the disabusing of the prejudged spirit of the people, and bring them unto a liking of the Government.

#### III. Advantage of the Highlanders.

That the Highlanders of Scotland do by their way of living, and nature of their habitation, surpass the rest of the inhabitants of Scotland in valour and other qualities for the war, and that no new levies before they have been formed a while, and served a campaign, are comparable to them in their hills, especially where they can boldly attempt without hazard of any considerable loss tho' worsted, because of their nimbleness and speed of feet, to which their way of cloathing doth much contribute, which may be judged as the chiefest human reason of the advantage they got in Athole, all our forces being levies of a month or two old, without discipline, and ill armed, particularly against such an enemy.

#### IId. Advantage.

That the situation of all the disaffected Highlanders of Scotland being contiguously seated together, separating the Lowlands, which form an half circle about them, furnished the rebels three to one of advantage in this war, so that their five thousand always together in body might give play to triple their number separate, as they must necessarily be, to hinder the ill-affected in the Lowlands to join them.

## IIIId. Advantage.

That by pursuing them in their hills and forests nothing could be advanced, because of the spaciousness, and that they, if pressed, were able to march in one day as much as the regular forces could do in two ; besides that it is not possible for any considerable numbers to subsist in the Highlands, except the Government had garrisons in several parts of those hilly countries, stored with provisions sufficient to supply the forces from place to place in pursuing the enemy, as the English seeing the necessity of it had, to which pitch of care and direction this Government hath not made the least step as yet.

## IV. Advantage.

That tho' those difficulties were overcome, the Highlands are of such a vast extent, and so full of grounds inaccessible for other forces but such as they are, and so easy a matter for the inhabitants to shun a rencounter with a pursuing enemy, that by separating each to his own country, not only they could save their persons out of our reach, but also their families and goods, by the great numbers of inaccessible roads and other strong grounds, where a small number could keep off a greater, as some of them have practised this last campaign, when the forces were too formidable for them in Lochaber.

## V. Advantage.

That if upon their separation and dividing themselves into smaller bodies we should do the like, as it is sometimes practicable and usefull in other countries to abbreviate the war, when a man finds himself the master in the field, they by their exact knowledge of the ground before we should be aware, could quickly joyn to fall upon our separate bodies and catch them at a disadvantage.

## VI. Advantage.

That considering the advantages of those Highlanders in their own coun-

try and the necessity of forcing them to a submission to the present Government, it was upon reasonable suppositions judged they could not be subdued without garisons in the midst of their country, whereby they should either be obliged to live summer and winter in their hills and forests, or be so exposed to the enterprizes of the garisons if they should inhabit their houses, that at last they should be forced to obedience, especially that of Innerlochy, now called Fort William, was judged of all men void of self ends effectual and necessary for that end.

Notwithstanding whereof such as had the chief direction in the Government by the influence certainly of such as wished not to see a speedy settlement, laboured to hinder and obstruct the design of it, as the manifold delays and difficulties to which the enterprizes thereof were exposed for lack of the necessary concurrence of the Government, together with the several addresses to his Majesty for liberty to go about it before the season was lost, or some other occurrence might furnish a diversion for the forces, may sufficiently make appear.

That the Highlanders during the forces abode in Lochaber, have (by the neglect of the Commissioner, who would permit no detachment to be made to hinder them) got a body of 200 horse good and bad together, and engrossed it afterwards by the irresolution and precipitate retreat of 8 troops of our horse and dragoons, who durst not abide them. Whereupon and by the lyes of the Jacobite party several noblemen and gentlemen joyned them, while the gros of our forces lay besouth Forth in expectation of some orders from the Queen in case of a French landing in England; which fear being over, a part of the said southern forces was marched northwards, which made the Rebels abandon their designs and betake themselves to the hills, whether we could not follow them upon these reasons. 1st. That with foot they could not be overtaken, nor any considerable body such as could securely march through their ennemy's hilly country, could not be 8 days subsisted, both for want of magazines of provisions, and tho' that were to be had, that there was no way to carry it along. 2ly. That a stronger body of horse could not safely

march after them, because that such Highlanders through whose countries they marched, would without any manner of doubt lay hold upon an apparent advantage to joyn foot with the Rebels horse, to take our horse alone in strong ground at a disadvantage; which the enemies of the commander of their Majesty's forces did not understand, when maliciously they blamed him, because the enemy trotted up and down the hills the matter of three or four weeks, who understanding more of his trade than his censurers, separated the forces in four several posts betwixt the south and north, that where ever they should shew their head in the Lowlands, they might meet with a body sufficient to attack, or chase them to their hills, by which method he was sure they must with the first foul weather break of themselves, besides the want of forrage, provision and horse shoes.

Some short Remarks upon the Present State of Scotland.

I. That there should no time be lost to secure and quiet the spirits in this Kingdom, by reason that such as find themselves under the lash of the law shall be apt to flatter themselves with the hopes of a change; whose dispositions to embrace readily the occasions of troubling the Government will be a lasting ground for their Majesties enemies abroad to form continual designs upon this Kingdom, which would be much at an end if the Highlanders were disposed to accept, and the King to grant a general pardon for bygones, excepting a few of the most criminal offenders for examples sake.

II. That the more generally the nation was infected with, and engaged in evil designs, the readier the pardon ought to be; it being a dangerous matter for the Government to leave a strong combination in suspense and lying under fears of being called in question thereafter, it being supposed that their apprehensions will put them upon evil contrivances, against the power of which they fear a repentment.

III. That most or all the Protestant Jacobites of quality in Scotland are such for one of two reasons. 1st, Self-interest, being, in their opinion, disappointed of the advantages which they promised to themselves under this Government; and, 2ly, The fear of a rigid Presbyterian Government, under which they cannot propose to themselves to live easy and securely. For a remedy to the former, it's proposed that the King consider either in the government, or by pension, such as are known to be able to serve him best upon all occasions; and to the latter, that there may be formed a moderate Council, which, tho' they countenance only the Presbyterian Kirk government as established by law, may labour to keep a gentle bridle hand against their violences, and that no persons of quality especially be imposed upon as to their particular exercises of devotion in their own families.

IV. That a delay in the matter of pacifying the spirits and dissipating the fears upon the account of rebellion, or designs against the Government, by a general pardon, may not only render it thereafter more difficult, and the grace less esteemed and embraced, upon the hopes of foreign succours, but probably will be an invitation to the enemies of their Majesties Government to use all means to divert the discontented from any resolution of submission to which the happy success of their Majesties arms had disposed them, if the occasion had been timely laid hold on, as also to form a real design of landing some forces in Scotland this winter, to make a diversion for their Majesties arms; all which timely measures to engage entirely two or three persons of considerable dependency in the Highlands would without any doubt prevent and disappoint.

V. That the same method observed in the former reign to fortify the royal authority in a design against the religion and interest of the people, is of the same import now to fortify their Majesties as well as the kingdom's true interest against all Pretenders to the Crown; that is, where a sufficient number of forces is wanting (the kingdom not being able to maintain it) to secure the Government against foreign and domestic attempts, to gain such of the subjects as are of greatest following and command to supply the said want, and serve upon occasion in place of other

forces ; and that the sooner this method is followed, the better effects in all appearance it shall take.

Memorandum of the Chief Things to be remarked and enlarged upon, occasion serving, since I came to Scotland.

In the month of March 1689, being sent down to Scotland with little more than a thousand foot, and about 200 dragoons and two regiments of English horse to quarter upon the borders, in case I had occasion to call for them, immediately I blocked up the Castle of Edinburgh, but having neither men nor artillery enough to attack it in form, I contented my self to hinder the besieged from all communication from without. I gave present orders for recruiting the companies of the three regiments, which I carried down to 100 men a piece, as also the Earle of Levin's regiment.

About that time the Viscount of Dundee, having disobeyed the State's summons, was by them declared rebel and fugitive. Whereupon I ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to the shire of Angus and town of Dundee to observe his motion, and hinder all rising in arms in that country, and labour to seize the said Viscount's person, and to fall upon and defeat any party or parties which should appear for him and against the Government.

The said Sir Thomas being informed that the Viscount quartered with some horse to the number of 50 or 60 in a place called Glen-Ogilby belonging to himself, and six miles from the dragoons' quarters, marched out in the night, of a design to surprize him, but he was gone the day before.

Within a few days thereafter, the Master of Forbes, whom I had sent north with instructions, advertised me that the said Dundee, with the fore-mentioned number of horse, was gone north to form a body there, which country seemed much disposed that way, by the interest of the Duke of Gordon, the Earle of Dumfermling, with several ill affected gentlemen and corporations.

Upon which intelligence, knowing the necessity of a present opposition

to these designs, as well as the continuation of the blockade of the castle, and to hinder the escape of the Duke of Gordon, whose personal presence in the north would bring a great weight to that party, I committed the latter to the care of the Brigadier Balfour, and having ordered the Marquis of Athole, the Earle of Mar, and the Laird of Grant, to guard the passages of their country, that Dundee might not escape to the combined Highlanders thereby, without danger of being taken or defeat, which they faithfully undertook, I took 200 fusiliers of the three regiments, 120 of the Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, and about 130 of Livingston's dragoons, and made great diligence to the north.

Being come to the lenth of Brechin, I had some report that Dundee was returning south again, and tho' I did not believe that I would surprize him in a country more his friend than mine, nevertheless, I detached Major Mackay with 50 dragoons, and as many foot, to a pass of a river or bridge four miles beyond my quarters, and two or three miles short of a village called Fettercairn, at the foot of the hills which I was to pass towards the north, with instructions to order his march so from the fore-said passage, that by the break of day he might fall into the said village, which he did accordingly, but found no man there, Dundee having been advertised of my motions (as he was on his march and within six miles of the said village where he intended to lodge) by some people that had seen me pass the ferrie of Dundee, otherwise he had certainly fallen into the snare.

Having the following day joyned my detachment, and sent out several spies to know whether he turned head after that alarm, I got notice, that after a motion, as if he intended for the Braes of Marr and Athole, he turned down again to the Duke of Gordon's country, which the Earle of Dumfermling laboured to put in arms for him; but being again alarmed of my approach, he past Spey, which was occasioned by the Laird of Grant's not following exactly my orders for guarding the passages of that river, which was an easy matter, had he parted from Edinburgh when I ordered; but I suppose this fault to have been more of ignorance than want of affection.

Dundee having past Spey, joined the number of nine hundred Highlanders, which received him as their General, and declared for King James, who, after they had received some contribution-money from the town of Innernefs, were refolved to march through Murray, and make that country take arms for the late King, as appeared by a letter of Dundee's to the Magistrates of Elgin : whereof I being advertised, tho' I was forced to leave the most part of the English horse at Brechin, so that I had but the 200 foot, 130 dragoons, and the matter of 40 horse with me, I marched with all diligence to be at Elgin before the ennemy, dispatching an exprefs to the rest of the detachment of horse to come up at any rate.

Dundee finding that I had prevented his designs in Murray, and consequently in all the low countries which I had left behind, and happily not knowing that I had left the most of my detachment of horse so far behind, not being able for fore backs to follow, with the diligence I made, decamped from before Innernefs, and marched towards Lochaber.

I not knowing the design of his retreat from Innernefs, and finding by all the intelligence I could get, that he was near triple my number, halted at Elgin till the rest of the English horse, to the number of 80 came up, to which I was moved, (besides the former reason,) because from all hands I was advertised that there were some ill men among the dragoons ; and tho' I did not much believe those reports, nevertheless I thought it no prudence to flight them altogether.

Next day, after the foresaid horse had joined me, I marched straight to Innernefs, where, having lodged my few forces, I ordered four hundred of the Lord Rae's men, with three hundred of the Laird of Balnagown's men to come to joyn me, who accordingly came at the time appointed ; and the Lord Strathnaver being come north, went diligently about getting his regiment together.

Mean time Dundee finding the Highlanders disposed, (such as Glen-gary, Lochiel, Keppoch, Macklean, Stuart of Appin, and Young Mack-donald,) to raise their men at a time appointed, refolved, (whether to get a recruit of money or horse, or both,) to pass through the Braes of Bade-

noch and Athole to the shires of Perth and Angus, where he had many favourers and adherents, surprising in the town of Perth a captain and Lieutenant of Horse, who were levying a troop in that shire, with a Lieutenant and Ensign of Foot, and 24 men sent thither upon execution.

From thence he past into the shire of Angus, got some gentlemen and King James's officers to joyn him, came to the gates of Dundee, where I had left two troops of dragoons to guard against such a design under Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, who did not so much as get his dragoons on horseback, or sent any of them to view the countenance or number of the enemy, which could not be much superior or better mounted.

Dundee having got some part of his errand, returned by the same way he came to the Highlands again, where he had received assurances from the Marquis of Athole's men, particularly from his baillie, who had the direction of his country, and command of his men in his absence.

This was a step sufficiently rendering the Marquis suspect as well to the government as to me, to whom he had engaged that he would not only hinder Dundee from passing through his country, but actually to oppose his undertakings.

After Dundee's return to the Highlands, and finding the Highland combination growing daily stronger, and the nearest neighbours of Innerness, such as the Mackenzies, the Frasers, and the Macphersons, giving me great ground of suspicion; and judging that if I should retire to the south, the enemy would presently be master of all the country between Tay, which as to men is the considerable part of Scotland, I resolved that except there were a landing in the south out of Ireland, I would not quit those countries, till I should leave them better settled; therefore upon the relation of my spies of the enemy's frequent meetings and consultations, judging that they tended to put a formidable body in the field, I dispatched an express with orders to Balfour to send me in all diligence colonel Ramfay, with 600 chosen men of the three battalions, giving directions to the said Colonel by which way he should come to joyn me, and calculating the marches so that, according to the judgment I

made, I might have him before the enemy would be in condition to hinder our junction : At the same time I sent an order to make some regiments of foot, and Barclay's dragoons march into the south of Scotland, and not to Sir John Lanier, because I was uncertain of the issue of my northern expedition, to come himself to Edinburgh to take the necessary care there of their Majesties interest and service in my absence. Upon the receipt of my order, Balfour detached Ramsay with the forefaid number to ferry over at Leith and so to St. Johnstoun, but upon the appearance of some thirty Holland fishermen, the Privy Council being alarmed stopt his march two days, which was the first break of my measures.

The Hollanders being discovered to be no French men, Ramsay was permitted to pursue his way, who being advanced in the country of Athole, through which I ordered his march, as much the nearest way, he found it in arms. Ramsay staying beyond my calculation, and having daily intelligence of the gathering of the Highlanders together, I dispatched an express by the way which I had ordered him to come, to look for him, with instructions to the said Ramsay to spare no money to have intelligence of the enemy's motions, and in case he found them to be too numerous for his party, he should alter his march, and take more to the right of the Laird of Grant's country, who was in our interest, where I should labour to meet him with the few forces I had by me, in case I should have news of the enemy's motion to hinder our junction.

This express, tho' I chose him such as I thought should easily pass that country without being challenged, was stopt and made prisoner by the Marquis of Athole's baillie, and kept two days in the castle of Blair (after the said baillie had sent the letters to Dundee to Lochaber) till colonel Ramsay had past the said castle, the matter of ten or twelve miles, to me ; from whence he dispatched an express to Innernefs, to advertise me that he would be that night, being Friday, at the castle of Ruthen in Badenoch, about thirty miles from Innernefs ; but after he had sent away the said express, the man which I had sent to meet him, and had been made prisoner, being set at liberty, as I said before, after the said colonel had past

Blair, came after him without his letter, who having given him some imperfect account, that I had ordered him to lead the party, in case of intelligence of a stronger enemy betwixt us by another way, and the men of Athole being altogether disaffected, magnifying the numbers of the Highland army. Ramsay uncertain what resolution to take, whether to pursue his march, or to return to St. Johnstoun, resolved at last upon the latter, which, though without any fault in him, not having received my last orders, did put me to a great deal of trouble and hazard always for the space of about a month, with what other accidents followed, to lose with my small forces (which were scarcely the fourth part of the enemy's number) the north of Scotland, and occasion a great deal of commotion through the whole kingdom, if God by his providence and singular care of his cause had not diverted the evil.

The express which Colonel Ramsay sent away before mine to him, which had been prisoner, came up to him, came to me at Innernefs on Saturday, and next morning I took with me what was in condition to march of my own party, with an hundred Highlanders well armed of the Lord Rae's men and as many of Balnagowns, leaving this last to command at Innernefs, till the Lord Strathnaver should come up, to whom I sent orders to come up with all diligence to guard the said post; and having taken provisions only for two days, having no other design than to secure Ramsay's march, whom I expected to meet that same night, and so to return with the whole party the day following to Innernefs, the more because the night before I had marched, I had news out of Lochaber that the enemy was not moving as yet. But being advanced the matter of twelve miles, I received a letter, &c.

MEMOIRES ECRITES PAR MONSIEUR HUGH  
DE MACKAY LIEUTENANT GENERAL A SA  
MAJESTE BRITANIQUE TOUCHANT LA DER-  
NIERE CAMPAIGNE D'IRELANDE.

M.DC.XCI.



## TOUCHANT LA DERNIERE CAMPAGNE D'IRELANDE.

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1691.

MONSIEUR MACKAY ayant accompagné le Roy, de Londres jusqu'à la Haye, dans la ferme croyance que sa Majesté l'auroit dorel'énadavant employé en Flandres, d'autant qu'il avoit heureusement achevé les troubles d'Ecosse, ayant tellement dompté les Rebelles de ce Royaume, que quoique quelques uns de leurs chefs se tinssent dans leurs cachots et retraittes des montagnes d'ou il feroit malaisé de les chasser du tout, sy nont ils jamais de puis pu former quelques corps, tant, les garnisons qu'il establit au millieu d'eux les tiennent en bride. Ayant dis je fait estat de servir cette campagne la aux pais bas, fus surpris quand le Roy allant en Brabant pour tacher de faire lever le siege de Mons, me dit que j'eusse a repasser en Angleterre et de la en Irelande ou sa Majeste croyoit que je luy pourrois estre utile, pour assister au siege des places dont elle scavoit que j'avois quelque experiance et estude, sa Majesté estant confirmée par les avis des Generaux qui commandoient alors les troupes en ce Royaume la, que les ennemis ne pouroient metre une armée en campagne, a cause, selon leurs advis, que leur cavallerie estoit tellement ruynée pendant l'hiver quil ne

leur en reſtoit plus guere. Et de fait le Lieutenant General Shrivemoer ſ'eſtant randu d'Irlande au retour du Roy en Angleterre luy tint la meme langage ; l'aſſurant comme les autres que les Irelandois n'avoient plus 1500 chevaux au monde, et quoyque le Roy neceſſairement ajouta quelque foy a ces avis quy venoient des mains quy en devoient le plus ſcavoir, ſy n'en fit pas toutes fois la regle de ſes meſures, ayant commandé encore le regiment de Portland pour y fortifier ſa cavallerie, quoy qu'il eſt bien a preſumer quil prendroit la reduktion de ce royaume plus a cœur, ſ'il avoit eſté bien averty du veritable eſtat des ennemis commenus les avons trouvés a l'ouverture de la campagne, bien loin de ce que Monſieur Shrivemoer en avoit repreſenté. Car ils avoient autant de chevaux et dragons que nous, et beaucoup plus d'infanterie, dont nous apprenons qu'il eſt de la derniere importance pour le bien du ſervice et la reputation du General qu'on ait exacte connoiſſance des forces ennemies, a fin de ne pas ſe meſprendre en prenant des meſures pour la guere, et ſ'il arrive qu'il y ait de l'impoſſibilité d'en procurer toutes les lumieres neceſſaires, qu'on les prenne toujours au plus grand calcule qu'on ſ'en puſt raiſonnalement imaginer, afin de ne pas conter ſans ſon hoſte ; car effectivement l'ignorance de l'eſtat des ennemis comme auſſy d'autres circonſtances, et le manque de preparatifs neceſſaires ſuivant le plan naturel qu'on devoit ſe former de cette campagne, nous la fairoit inutilement perdre ſy Dieu n'avoit privé nos ennemis de jugement, et nous eut inſpiré des deſſains que ſa benediction ſeule rendent juſtifiables au jugement de tous ceux qui examineront au fond combien nous avons riſqué l'intereſt general de toute l'Europe, auſſy bien que le particulier de leurs Majeſtés par tous les pas que nous avons fait cette compaignie, que le Dieu des armeés a fait ſy heureuſement reuſſir a l'avantage ſingulier de tous les Princes Alliez auſſy bien que l'aſſermiſſement du gouvernement de leurs Majeſtés, dont il luy faut attribuer la louange et non pas a la conduite et force humaines.

Mons eſtant randu avant que l'armée des Alliez fut en eſtat de pouvoir raiſonnalement enterprendre le ſecours, le Roy ſ'en retourna en Angleterre avant que le Duc de Leynſter que ſa Majeſte avoit deſtiné pour le

commandement general de ses troupes en Irlande, et moy quy ly devois accompagner en qualite de lieutenant-general eufmes le vent favorable pour passer. A l'arrivée du Roy a Londres, les mesures pour l'Irlande furent en grande partie changées ; car au lieu du Duc de Leynster, l'on determina de continuer Monsieur de Ghinckle au commandement de l'armée en Irlande, et il semble que le Roy resolut que durant cette campagne le Duc de Virtemberg n'eust point de tour de commandement non plus que Monsieur de Shravemoer, mais que tous les deux agissent en second generaux, le premier commandant en chef l'infanterie, et l'autre la cavallerie, et que tous tours de commandement se fissent par les generaux majors dont il y en avoit dans l'infanterie quatre, et trois dans la cavallerie ; c'est pour quoy que le Roy apres avoir proposé en conseil de me envoyer en qualité de lieutenant-general, changea de propos, dont je fus bien fâché, croyant que cet honneur m'appartenoit non seulement pour les services que je luy avois rendus en Ecosse, mais aussi parce que j'avois esté fait general-major par le Roy Jaques en mesmes tems que le Comte de Marleborough, lequel n'auroit pas manque de m'avancer, comme luy si j'avois fuiuy ses interets, mais me representant l'obligation dans laquelle se trouvent tous fideles protestans de servir cet interet purement pour l'amour de Dieu et de sa verité sans aucune consideration du nostre particulier, je me consolay, resolu de servir le Roy cette campagne la de la meme fidelité et affection que j'avois fait jusqu' alors, avertissant toutes fois le Comte de Portland, que, si Dieu trouvoit bon de me la faire survivre, je chercherois un autre maître si je trouvois qu'on persistât a considerer si peu mes services, l'assurant en mesme tems que ce ne seroit jamais un qui ne fut dans l'interest de sa Majesté et de la religion protestante. Et de cette maniere pris conge du Roy, quy ne me dit le petit mot sur les affaires d'Irlande, apparemment l'en remettant entierement a ce que Monsieur Shravemoer luy en representa, quoy que je descouvris en peu de tems, et quand je fus sur le lieu, qu'il l'en avoit formées des fort trompeuses idées, et qui nous auroient pu faire perdre inutilement la campagne comme j'ai deja touché, si Dieu, autheur de cette grande deliver-

ance, n'y eut pourveu en sa bonté infinie pour la liberté de tous les estats de l'Europe en general, et pour le bien de son eglise en particulier. Quant au changement de la résolution du Roy touchant le commandement general de son armée en Irlande, il n'y a nulle doute, que Shrivemoer n'y aye le plus contribué, ayant déclaré de ne pas vouloir servir sous le Duc de Leynster; on alleguoit aussi que la nation Angloise, scavoir l'armée n'en feroit pas satisfaction, laquelle n'ayme guere la promptitude et rudesse de laquelle on alleguoit que les commandements de ce general sont d'ordinaire accompagnés; mais comme c'est une nation naturellement brave qui ne fait jamais le moindre difficulté de marcher allaiement où leur general la commande, et reconnue dans cette guerre, (quoy que les premisses de ses services, ayant jouy d'un long repos qui luy a fait tomber les armes des mains,) pour la nation du monde la plus patiente et à l'épreuve des souffrances, et la moins sujette à murmures, il n'y a nulle doute qu'un general de l'expérience et bravoure de ce Duc ne prit sujet de ces qualités, tant nécessaires aux gens de guerre pour faire bien reussir ce qui doit contribuer à l'establissement de la réputation et fortune de leur general, de traiter honnestement et selon leur humeur les Anglois, lesquels ne se plaignent de rien pourveu que leurs generaux leur donnent des témoignages de leur estime par leur civilité et honnestetés.

Examinons à cette heure si ce changement estoit en apparence pour le service du Roy. L'on ne scauroit nier que Monsieur le Duc de Leynster n'ait eu plus de moyen de se munir d'une connoissance generale de la guerre, et du commandement general d'une armée que Monsieur de Ghinckle, parce que le premier étant fils d'un des plus grands capitaines de son tems, sous lequel il avoit fait la guerre, il n'auroit pas manqué de luy donner tout l'esclaircissement nécessaire d'un metier auquel il l'avoit élevé dès son enfance; qu'il avoit servy dans plusieurs pays où il auroit eu occasion de se former le jugement en faisant les remarques sur leurs differents manieres de faire la guerre; et qu'en France il n'y a point de distinction des generaux de cavallerie et d'infanterie comme quelques autres pays, mais d'abord qu'on est avancé au dessus du collonel il prend son tour de tout

commandement, ce qui donne une idée plus générale du service que les officiers n'en peuvent avoir dans les pays où ils sont attachés à l'étude de quelque espèce de troupes, comme la coutume est en Hollande. Outre ces considérations, il est à presumer que le Duc de Leynster connoissoit mieux la capacité et l'humeur du général de l'armée ennemie que Monsieur de Ghinckle, toutes fois il y avoit un argument pour la continuation du dernier en Irlande (rejetant du tout celui dont on seroit venu comme de peu de force, contre ce que je viens de dire) c'est qu'ayant passé tout l'hiver en Irlande et pratiqué quelque intelligence avec les ennemis, et les mesures pour l'artillerie et les vivres ayant été pris par son aveu et ses ordres, il semble qu'il auroit été hors de tems de lui donner un successeur au mois de May, où le loisir avoit manqué de redresser ce qu'il avoit trouvé en désordre. Toutes fois puis qu'il a fallu nécessairement pour entretenir la bonne correspondance entre les confédérés, que le Roy se mit à la tête de leurs communes forces en Flandres, l'importance de la guerre d'Irlande demandoit qu'on la fît prudemment aussi bien que vigoureusement, et par conséquent demandoit un chef instruit de tout ce qui en dépend, tant au regard de la manière de la faire selon la force et qualité de ses propres troupes, et celle des ennemis, que de la nature du pays, et de l'état des affaires tant en Irlande qu'en Angleterre, l'Ecosse, et par toute l'Europe, où un désavantage médiocre en Irlande pourroit avoir produit de mauvais effets. Des réflexions de cette nature formées de bonne heure fait aussi songer à tout moyen nécessaire pour emporter de l'avantage sur les ennemis, sans être obligé, pour ne pas passer la campagne sans rien faire, de risquer le tout pour le tout, comme il nous arriva de faire en Irlande plus d'une fois cette année-ci, comme la suite le montrera ; dont toutes fois je n'entends nullement blâmer Monsieur de Ghinckle, étant impossible qu'une personne inaccoutumée au commandement général d'une armée puisse se former un juste plan de ses desseins et de tout ce qu'il lui faut pour les exécuter tellement qu'il ne découvre d'abord qu'il se trouve engagé contre son ennemi, le défaut de prévoyance qui nécessairement enfante celui des préparatifs ; car je confesse franchement que si j'avois bien entendu la

disposition des choses en Ecosse que j'en auvois absolument refusé le commandement des troupes du Roy, ou j'aurois esté envoyé de maniere d'y establir son autorité Royale des la premiere campagne; mais j'ay taché de remedier la seconde les fautes que l'ignorance du pais aussy bien que des ennemis m'ont fait commettre la premiere, quoy qu'avec moins de troupes et peu d'argent, parceque je l'avois tellement estudié pendant l'hyver que je m'en formay le plan de sorte qu'humainement il ne pourroit manquer de sortir son effect, pourveu qu'on me laissât agir selon mes projects, mais quant a la guerre d'Irlande, la providance toute visible du grand Dieu, pour la gloire et verit salutaire du quel sa Majeste a pris les armes, les a tellement benies dans les mains de Monsieur de Ghinckle, que tout ce que j'en remarque ne sert que pour mon instruction, et non pas de dessein d'amoindrir l'estime qu'il en a acquise dans le monde.

Le Roy ayant establis les ordres necessaires pendant son absance en Angleterre, et despechez ses ordres pour Monsieur de Ghinckle selon l'idée qu'on luy avoit donnée de cette guerre, l'en retourne en Hollande au commencement du mois de May, et je pris mon chemin pour Dublin, ou estant arrivé, je fus d'abord trouver Monsieur de Ghinckle lequel, a son ordinaire a tout le monde, me reçeut fort civilement.

Le Roy trouvant que le Lieutenant-General Douglas et le General Major Kirck estoient mal ensemble, (outre qu'il y avoit des grandes plaintes de habitans du pays, tant contre eux, que contre le General Major Lanieri,) resolut de les retirer d'Irlande tous trois, jugeant que la mesintelligence des officiers de ce calibre ne se forme guere aux armées que les troupes n'en participent et que le service n'en patisse; ainzy n'en voulant donner sujet de desplairir a l'un plus qu'a l'autre, les rapella les deux premiers en Flandres et Lanieri pour passer l'esté en Angleterre; m'envoyant avec le Marquis de Ruvignie et le General Major Talmousli en leur place, dont le service ne se trouva pas mal, non pas a l'égard de la capacité des successeurs plus que de ces messieurs que je dis, mais parcequ'on na jamais veu une armée dont les generaux aussy bien que les troupes, quoy que composées de quatre a cinque nations differantes, vecussent de meilleure intelligence

ensemble ; au conseil de guerre l'on voyoit bien de difference d'opinion, n'estant guere vray semblable qu'ils pussent tomber d'accord en tout et par tout, d'un metier dont les maximes changent selon les ennemies : les pais, et infinies autres circonstances dont la consideration nous oblige de changer de mesures, mais d'abord que la question estoit decidée par une resolution definitive du chef ou par pluralité des voix chacun estoit esgalement porté pour l'avancement du dessein resolu pour marque que tout le monde ne demandoit que la fin de cette guerre tant prejudiciable a leurs Majestées et a leurs allies. Avant mon arrivée en Irlande, le General avoit distribué ses ordres pour l'assemblément des troupes, celles des quartiers du nord jusqu'à l'entour de Dublin vers Molingar, ou l'on avoit fait une espece de magazin et de bouche et de guerre, avec de l'avoine pour la cavallerie, et celle des quartiers du sud environ Chonmelle [Clonmell] sous Monsieur le Duc de Virtemberg, le General n'ayant pas encore resolu du lieu ou ces deux corps se devoient joindre. Comme je fus surpris de cette courvée d'Irlande, il me manquoit encore plusieurs choses pour faire la campagne a mon arrivée à Dublin, de fort que je priay Monsieur de Ghinckle de me permettre le sejour de Dublin jusqu'à ce qu'il allast luy mesme a l'armée, ce qu'il m'accorda, envoyant Monsieur de Ruvignie au rendezvous de Molingar, et ordre au Lieutenant-General Douglas d'y mener les troupes qu'il commandoit au nord toute l'hyver passé. Dans les six ou sept jours que nous demeurâmes encore à Dublin, je pris la liberté de parler au General touchant l'intelligence qu'il avoit de l'estat des ennemies, l'estat de ses propres vivres, et s'ils estoient tellement logés qu'il en pust tirer des secours de quelque costé qu'il jugeast apropos de tourner teste, et s'il avoit resolu de l'endroit ou il tenteroit le passage de Shanon. Il me repond que le Roy ne le retranchoit pas quant a l'intelligence qu'il ne luy manquoit pas d'argent, mais qu'il ne pouvoit pas se fier aux Ir[eland]ois papistes, lesquels seuls puissent passer le Shanon. Quoyque je fois d'opinion que Monsieur de Ghinckle, estant trop chargé d'autres affaires, laissoit le soin de cet article essentiel pour povoir prendre des bonnes mesures a la guerre, (que sans intelligence l'on n'y fait qu'à taton,) a des

gens quy n'en scavoient pas la methode, et ne se'n donnoient guere la payne ; tout le monde qui connoit les Irois affirment qu'il n'y a pas de nation au monde plus avaricieuse et mercenaire que celle-la, de sorte que le fils trahiroit le pere pour de l'argent, mais la vraye methode est d'establiir des chefs d'intelligence, gens d'honneur, de fidelité connue, et pratiqués dans les pais ou l'on fait la guerre, quy tirent honneste traitement et ayent le soin de trouver des gens propres pour envoyer parmy les ennemis, tant pour en rapporter leurs propres remarques que pour tacher desbaucher quelques uns parmy eux ; et si dans les grandes armées il y eut quatre ou d'avantage establis de tels chefs d'intelligence quy eussent chacun une douzaine d'espions, tels qu'ils repondroient de leur fidelité, a bonne folde ordinaire, avec promesse d'une bonne recompanse extraordinaire toutes les fois qu'ils apporteroient avis d'importance, et que les chefs et espions s'entre connussent le moins que se pust ; je dis que moyenant telle semblable methode l'on ne feroit guere surpris d'une marche ennemie, et ne tarderoit guere d'avoir la connoissance de ses mouvemens, soit en corps ou par destachemens ; car il y aurait toujours des espions au camp ennemies, mais il les faut bien payer si on en veut estre bien servy, estant un metier ou il ny a point de quartier. Il me souvient, pour preuve de l'utilite de cette methode, qu'a la premiere campagne de la guerre d'Ecosse, avant qu'on avoit levées des troupes dans ce pais-la pour le Roy, voulant dissiper des assembleés qui se faisoient au nord par le Vicomte de Dundée, je me transportay avec un party de 500 hommes, tant cavallerie qu'infanterie et dragons, auxquels je joynis 200 montagnards, et me trouvay bientoit engagé avec le dit Vicomte avec plus de 3000 hommes, et comme je luy voulois empecher l'entrée dans un pais ou il auroit notablement grossy son party et mentenir la communication, avec du secours que j'avois mandé ne pouvant faire l'un et l'autre si je changeois de poste ou me retirois trop tot ; et voulant aussy donner d'autant plus de tems a mon secours de m'approcher, a fin que quand l'ennemy avanceroit vers mon poste, d'ou a son approche jettois resolu de me retirer (d'autant plus que j'avois descouvert quelques jours aupara-

vant de l'intelligence entre les officiers d'un regiment de dragons que j'avois avec moy, quy faisoit environ 180 hommes, scavoir la plus part des capitaines et subalternes, ayant pour chef de leur deffein criminel le lieutenant-colonel, quoy que personne de bonne qualité, au quel j'avois rendu des bons services pres du Roy,) je dis que non obstant ces circonstances croustillieuses voulant profiter du temps pour les raisons fuddites autant qu'il me feroit possible par une mine de vouloir attendre l'ennemy de pie ferme, je conjuray le seigneur du pais ou je me trouvoy de me fournir douze hommes fideles de ses payfans que je tiendrois a bonne folde tant que je resterois dans ces terres, ce qu'il fist, estant affectioné a l'interet du Roy ; a l'ayde desquels je restay encore la quelques jours, auxquels mon secours m'approchoit tousjours, si bien que quand les ennemis m'avoient approché d'une demie lieue a l'entrée de la nuit, je me retiray, joygnant en deux jours de marche les troupes que j'attendois, avec lesquels je tournay teste court sur les ennemis, et les aurois infalliblement surpris, sy les memes officiers de dragons n'en avoient de nuit dans la marche detaché deux pour leur en donner connoissance.

Quant aux vivres Monsieur de Ghinckle m'assura qu'il n'en manqueroit pas quelque deffein qu'il entreprit, et je me persuade qu'il les croyoit tellement disposés ; et pour le passage du Shanon il fut resolu que ce seroit pres de Banaker pour les suivantes raisons, 1°. que le general croyoit avoir pratiquée quelque intelligence avec le commandant d'un petit fort au bout d'un pont de pierre au dit lieu, quy nous auroit accommodes tout autant que la prise D'Athlone quant a nous rendre maistres du Shanon, 2°. qu'il fut averty qu'au deffaut de ce deffein il y auroit un fort bon guay [gué] par lequel avec un pont de pontons le tout favorifié d'une grosse artillerie l'on esperoit de forcer son passage ; et comme les ennemis formoient leur armée a Lochreagh selon son intelligence, lieu egaleement distant de Limmerick, Galway, et Athlone, pour puis apres se regler selon nos mouvemens, estans cependant commodement postés la, pour les vivres qu'ils tiroient de Limerick et de Galway ; il crut avec les Lords justices qu'en formant le deffein du passage au dessus d'Athlone on laisseroit toute la province de Leynster et

ce qu'on tenoit dans celle de Munster expose aux ennemis si laiffans Athlone, Limerick, et Galway bien pourvus du monde neceffaire, il leur prit envie de s'y jetter avec leur cavallerie et bonne parte de leur infanterie, au lieu que passant a Banaker ou a Melicks, qui en est a deux milles, nous serious en estat (comme nous nous estimions maîtres de la campagne,) de les couper du Shanon, et trouver le moyen de les obliger au combat, ou bien en faisant un destachement d'infanterie pour assieger Athlone, observer les ennemis avec le reste de l'armée. Voyez les vrayes raisons pourquoy il fut arresté encore a Dublin que le passage se devoit tenter aux endroits susdits, et jamais il n'entra dans l'esprit de quoy que ce fut de proposer Athlone pour l'y tenter, jusqu'à ce qu'un certain ingenieur François, qui avoit deserté des Irois l'année precedente, en fist l'ouverture a Monsieur le Duc de Virtemberg, comme je toucheray ensuite. Cependant Monsieur de Ghinckle envoya ordre lors qu'il partit de Dublin pour Molingar au Duc de Virtemberg de mouvoir doucement avec son corps prenant le chemin de Caskall, et Tharles vers Roscrea, et manda Monsieur de Tetau, General Major de l'infanterie Danoise, aupres du luy a Dublin, ou il fut mis en deliberation si on devoit laisser Balimer bloqué sans s'amuser a le prendre, ou bien par la prise de ce fort faire l'ouverture de la campagne ; la raison pour la blockade fut qu'il nous pourroit arrester quelques jours qu'y seroit autant de temps gagné pour les ennemis, et pour l'attaque (qu'y l'emporta) que ce seroit un affront et de mauvais exemple de passer une bicoque comme celle la avec une armée Royale sans la prendre, outre quelle incommoderoit fort nos convoys si bien qu'on resolut de commencer par cette attaque.

Monsieur de Ghinckle, ayant donné les ordres qu'il crut neceffaires a Dublin, en partit le 29 de May, et arriva a Molingar le lendemain a vers le midy, accompagnée de Monsieur Tetau et moy. Dans cette marche je remarquay que nous estions pas assez pourvus de chevaux pour l'artillerie, parcequ'on ne la pût trainer de Dublin a Molingar que par les renvoye des chevaux, et fus fort surpris de voir une place dont on faisoit cas, comme une magasin de munitions de guerre et de bouche, d'où l'armée devoit

uniquement subsister, n'y ayant point d'autre communication de ce côté-la entre elle et Dublin, source de tous nos secours, ouverte par tout comme un village, et ne pouvois pas empêcher d'en témoigner mon étonnement à Monsieur de Ghinckle le priant pendant qu'on l'arrestoit la qu'il ordonna des détachements de l'infanterie qui s'y trouvoit déjà pour travailler à quelque espèce de clôture qui la mit aucunement hors d'insulte ; jugeant qu'il ne faisoit pas long travail pour l'assurer contre un ennemy que l'auroit souffert déjà quelques mois si pres de luy dans cet état sans l'avoir visitée quoy qu'il n'y eut dedans qu'un regiment qui ne faisoit pas 300 hommes capables de service. L'on construit donc quelque chose pour l'enfermer comprenant les pièces qu'on y avoit déjà construites, quoy qu'après tout on l'avoit laissée fort insulable, ny ayant travaillé que trois à quatre jours, lors qu'il fut résolu après la jonction de Monsieur Douglas de marcher à Balimer avec un corps d'environ neuf à dix-mille hommes ; j'étois d'opinion d'attendre quelque peu de jours pour mettre cette place en quelque état qu'on ne la pût pas emporter d'emblée, pendant qu'on seroit approcher le corps que commandoit le Duc de Virtemberg, parce dis-je que les ennemis étant maîtres de tous les guays et ponts du Shanon (favorisés du pais) apparemment bien informés de toutes nos marches au lieu que nous n'avions nul avis certain de leur état présent, ils pourroient, (nous trouvant séparés par cinq à six marches) passer ledit fleuve avec toutes leurs forces pour nous forcer l'un ou l'autre de ces corps séparément au combat, ou au moins nous tellement séparer que pour éviter un combat si inégale, il n'y auroit point d'autre remède que de nous retirer vers Dublin, comme le Duc seroit obligé de faire autant vers Kilkenie, pour de cette manière chercher le moyen de se joindre en sûreté. Ajoutons que si nous laissons ce poste si mal assuré, d'abord que nous prendrions le chemin de Melicks et Banaker, les ennemis pourroient faire passer des troupes par Athlone ou Lanfboroegh pour nous l'enlever, cela non obstant ceux qui prétendoient gagner du tems par cette marche, soutenant qu'il ne falloit pas appréhender des entreprises de cette nature des Irois l'emporteroient, si bien que nous voilà devant Balimer, fort de situation mais mal fortifié étant

arrivés tard devant ce fort l'on ne peut rien faire ce jour la que camper, le lendemain l'on tira du canon et deux petits mortiers, et l'on fit metre dans le lac quatre batteurs avec quelques pontons, pour les attaquer par eau, aussi bien qu'au travers d'un marais en comblant les fossés de fascines, et par la teste couverte d'une tenaille flanquée et pallissadée, ou l'on avoit fait breche, cet appareil fist chanter la garnison quy se rendit a discretion.

J'ay remarqué que de ce costé-la il n'y avoit nul magasin que celui de Molingar entre Dublin, (source de tous nos secours d'argent, de vivres, et de munitions de guerre) et l'armée, ny aucune communication entr'eux que cette place, jusqu'a la prise de Balimer ou il ni avoit la moindre commodité pour loger un magasin, si bien que tout son utilité consistoit en ce qu'on avoit privé les ennemis d'un poste d'en ils auroient incommodé nostre communication avec Molingar et Dublin, et d'en avoir si pres D'Athlone pour favoriser nos convoys de ces deux lieux, d'abord que nous aurions establie la communication pres d'Athlone sur le Shanon.

Avant que passer outre disons un mot sur le sujet des magasins et de leur utilité ; comme toutes les operations de la campagne dependent de ce qu'il y en ait de bien fournis, et tellement logés pour la commodité de l'armée, quelle ne manque jamais de vivres ni de munitions de guerre, il semble d'une necessité indispensable qu'un chef d'armée se forme de bonne heure un projet ou plan general de tout ce qu'il peut raisonablement se proposer de pouvoir entreprendre durant la campagne, par ou commencer ou finir, afin que si le pais dont il se trouve maistre ne luy fournit pas des lieux de seureté qui l'accomodent pour loger ses munitions selon ledit plan, il travaille pendant l'hiver de s'en pourvoir et remplir, soit en fortifiant ou en enlevant des ennemis ; d'autant que sans une providance toute speciale de Dieu, telle qui accompagnoit les armes de leurs Majestés cette campagne-ci en Irelande, d'abord que ses secours manquent il faut quitter tout pensée d'entreprendre sur les ennemis, quelque avancé qu'on se trouve dans son dessein. Suivant l'opinion d'une certaine personne laquelle, voulant signifier la necessité indispensable de cette partie de la conduite d'un General, dit qu'une armée est un animal lequel il faut commencer a former

par le ventre, voulant donner a entendre par la il n'y a rien plus a faire que de les ramener ou ils en puissent estre secourus, ce qui ne se peut sans grand destriment du service.

Retournons a cette heure a nostre recit qui nous fournira les occasions d'en remarquer d'avantage la necessité, parceque cette seule manque nous pensa faire perdre la campagne sans la benediction d'en haut qui a supplée a tout defect.

Après la prise de Balimer il fut consulté si l'on devoit faire avancer le Duc de Virtemberg de ce côté-la, ou bien luy envoyer ordre de s'arrestar a Balibog a six milles du pont de Banaker, la plus part des Generaux furent pour le laisser pres de ce passage pour ne luy pas faire faire le chemin deux fois, a quoy je m'oposay, donnant mes raisons par escrit comme l'ensuit.

Que l'experience a souvent fait voire le danger de trop mepriser les ennemis ; que pour appliquer cette doctrine a nos propres circonstances, il pourroit estre de mauvaise consequence de supposer les ennemis que nous avons en teste si abattus et hors d'estat que de ne rien oser entreprendre sur un corps de neuf a dix mille hommes en cas qu'ils ayent toutes leurs troupes ensemble et qu'on leur en prete l'occasion, qu'en se tenant separé de trois a quatre marches un General accort et entendu au metier, dont toutes les troupes connoissent parfaitement bien le terrain, pourroit estudier et s'en procurer l'occasion.

Que nous ne pouvons pas nous fier tellement sur les avis que nous puissions avoir de l'estat des ennemis, de l'autre côté du Shanon que d'en faire la regle de nos mesures.

Que, nostre resolution estant de tenter le passage du Shanon a Banaker ou Melicks, nous devons, pour en surprendre les ennemis, faire paroistre toute autre chose a leur jugement plustot que ce dessein-la.

Que les ennemis estans avertis du mouvement du Duc de Virtemberg vers Streanifston a trois ou quatre milles de Balimer, dans le mesme tems que le General se mit devant ce fort, voyant le dit Duc sur la reduction de Balimer s'arrestar tout court sur le droit chemin de l'armée a Banaker, en conclueront naturellement que nostre principal dessein pour le passage du Shanon est formé de ce côté-la et s'y opposeront.

Que la jonction du Duc avec le General pres de Balimer, et ensuite un campement de toute l'armée ensemble dans les voisinage d'Athlone, leur donneroit apparemment une autre pensée, et attireroit le gros de leurs troupes ou ils apprehenderoient le plus notre dessein de tenter le passage.

Que l'armée tout en corps ayant fait le dit mouvement, et poussans des partis du costé de Lanfboro ou il y avoit, outre le pont, un bon guay, aussi bien que postant des gardes pres d'Athlone pour cacher les suivans mouvemens aux ennemis, et faisant reconnoître des endroits pres de cette dernière place propres pour jetter un pont sur le Shanon pourroit tellement amuser les ennemis que par une subite marche de nuit avec la moitié des troupes par le grand chemin d'Athlone a Limerick, moyennant qu'il soit practicable avec l'attirail necessaire l'on passat le Shanon sans opposition considerable, ou a l'aide des chevaux de frise et par un dilligent travail, l'on se mettroit en moins de rien en estat d'attendre la jonction du reste de l'armée (qui auroit reste jusqu'au lendemain dans le voisinage d'Athlone pour amuser les ennemis et leur defrober cette marche,) sans courre aucun risque.

Et finalement, qu'en tout cas la jonction des troupes nous mettroit en repos, en privant les ennemis de l'occasion de former quantité des desseins auxquels nostre separation leur serviroit de fondement, dont, par malheur et la connoissance exacte qu'ils avoyent du pais, quelqu'un pourroit reussir au defavantage des armes et du service de leurs Majestés.

Enfin la jonction fut resolue, a quatre milles de Balimere sur le chemin d'Athlone, et le Duc s'estant avancé jusqu'a Streamston, vint avec quelques officiers entre autres le Marquis de la Forest trouver le General encor campé pres de Belimere. A cette entreveüe le dit la Forest propose le sentiment d'un certain ingénieur François, lequel avoit comme il dit l'année d'au par avant travaillé aux fortifications d'Athlone, c'est qu'il soustenoit qu'il y avoit de nostre costé de la Riviere des hauteurs d'ou l'on voyoit tous les endroits de la ville de dela, si bien qu'un nombre capable de la defendre ne pourroit pas s'y tenir acouvert de nostre feu, il dit aussi qu'il y avoit un guay au dessous et tout pres du pont par ou il voyoit passer souvent des soldats, mais ne sçavoit pas dire combien il y en pouvoit passer de front.

De la a deux jours l'armée mouvant de Balimore et de Streamston en mesme temps se joignit, et marcha le lendemain en corps jusqu'a deux milles d'Athlone, d'ou de bon matin le General Major Tetau fut destaché avec quatre regimens d'infanterie et quelque cavalerie et dragons pour se poster audella de tous les deffiles, lequel fut suivy de pres du general et du Duc de Virtemberg ; cepandant le pais estant ferré, et trouvant qu'il ny avoit que peu d'infanterie passée devant, en cas que les ennemis par aventure eussent fait passer de nostre costé quelque nombre considerable de leurs troupes pour nous disputer les avenues de cette place, j'avanceay a grand pas avec la reste de l'infanterie, lorsque le feu de nos escarmoucheurs me le fit redoubler, meme le General ne sachant de quelle force les ennemis l'y pourroient trouver, envoya pour nous faire halter voyant les ennemis faisant contenance de luy vouloir disputer les Hayes et rideaux qu'y estoient pres de la ville, desquells tous fois Monsieur de Tetau les chassa dans leur place et, l'en empara sans autre secours.

L'escarmouche passée, et les ennemis chassés dans leur place, l'on marqua aux troupes un peu loin de la place comme on n'avoit pas resolu de ce qu'on y devoit entreprendre, quoy qu'il semble qu'on se fut trop approché pour une feinte seulement de ce costé la, tout nostre camp estant exposé a la veue des ennemis. Cette nuit je relevay Monsieur de Tetau, et l'on resolut de faire une batterie de huit pieces de vingt-quatre livres pour faire breche, ce qu'y fut executé avant cinque heures apres midy du lendemain, auquel temps l'on resolut de donner l'assaut a la breche quoy qu'entre elle et la batterie le space de trois cents pas, il n'y eut point de couverte qu'un chemin pavé qu'y tiroit vers une porte a la droite de la dite breche. Comme cette action fut resolue pendant mon tour de commandement, je la commanday, et avec moy les brigadiers Stuart et Vitkimhof, les regiments estants ceux de Stuart Anglois et Vitkimhof Danois, soutenus de celluy de Bruer Anglois et de Nassau Holandois. L'attaque devoit commencer par deux cents grenadiers commandées de toute l'armee, dont ayant fait la disposition, j'ordonnay aux grenadiers de couler le long du pavé fuidit jusqu'a ce qu'ils fussent vis avis dela breche a fin de n'être pas

300 pas expofés au feu des deux villes ; ordonnant a Stuart avec fon regiment de fouteñir les dits grenadiers, lequel fut fuivy du regiment Danois, puis de Bruér fuivy de Naſſau. Ayant donc expliqué les ordres a tous fort diſtinctement et fait partir les grenadiers, je me mis fur la batterie a pied pour voir comme cela ſe fuvroit, afin qu'ayant une vue de tout, je puſſe accourir ou ma preſance feroit le plus requiſſe, et ny fus pas un moment l'orſqu'ayant remarqué [que] la teſte non ſeulement avoit pris le chemin trop a la droite, mais que le Lieutenant avec trente grenadiers quy marchoit a la teſte des grenadiers ſ'arreſtoit guere loin de la breche dont les ennemis commençoient a prendre cœur et paroître plus ouvertement fur la breche, j'acourus viſtement au regiment de Bruer, quy ſuivoit les deux autres a la file, et ayant pris le premier Capitaine que je rencontray par la main fans m'amuſer a courir a la teſte, luy montré par ou il devoit pouſſer a la courſe droite a la breſche, le faiſant fuivre de tout ce qu'il y avoit derriere luy du regiment, par ou, quoy qu'il fuſt le troiſieme regiment, fut avec les premiers a la breſche. Puis apres je pouſſay aux autres regiments qui eſtoient devant, leſquels par ce mouvement d'une partie de Bruer, commencerent apprendre le bon chemin. Le deſordre de la teſte eſtant arrive de ce que le Lieutenant commandant les trentes grenadiers fut tué, et le Lieutenant-Colonel commandant tout ce deſtachement avoit reçu un coup dans le genouil quy le mit par terre, ce que le Brigadier Steuart ayant remarque, l'avancea avec ſon regiment, pouſſent en meſme tems avec le regiment de Bruer dans la breſche, et pourſuivant les ennemis juſqu'au bout du pont entre les deux villes, ou il reçut un coup de mouſquet quy luy fracalla le bras ; de forte qu'il fut mis hors de combat pour le reſte de cette campagne, quy fut une perte pour le ſervice, eſtant brave homme, et tres affectionné et attaché a l'intereſt de leurs Majeſtés, l'on remarqua que beaucoup des ennemis ſe retirerent par le guay cy deſſus mentionné au deſſous de pont ce quy nous obligea de faire de logemens contre i celluy auſſy bien qu'au bout du pont n'y ayant encore aucun deſſein formé de profiter de cette action pour attaquer par la l'autre ville, il eſt certain que ſi nous avions a noſtre arrivée pres d'Athlone nos pontons avec nous que nous

aurions pu passer la riviere au dessus de la ville avant que l'armée ennemie campée a Balinosloe 10 a 12 milles d'Athlone, l'y fut pu opposer, n'y ayant que peu de troupes en meschant ordre qu'on avoit d'abord fait, decamper par quelques coups de canon sur l'autre bord, mais le nombre convenable des chevaux d'attirail nous manquoit de sorte qu'on ne pouvoit pas avoir le gros canon, les pontons, les munitions, et les vivres que par le renvoy des chevaux, ce qui non seulement retarda le service, mais l'auroit du tout empêché, sans une providance toute evidente qui suppleoit a tous deffauts.

Cette ville estant emportée, il fut trouvé raisonnable qu'on ne l'abandonna pas, mais quelle fut mise en estat d'y laisser le gros canon et tout ce qui pouroit embarrasser a la marche, en cas qu'on demeurast dans la resolution de tenter le passage ailleurs. Voicy l'estat des affaires lorsque le gros canon arriva au camp, lequel par la persuasion du Duc de Virtemberg, de Monsieur Shrivemore, et enfin de la plus part des Officiers Generaux, fut mis en une batterie contre les defences de l'autre coste, et eut tout l'effect qu'on s'en pût promettre, considerant que cestoit de la terre ou d'ordinaire il ne fait pas tant d'effect qu'aux murailles, l'on se proposa de construire un pont de pontons entre les deux villes, de reparer les arches rompues du pont de pierre, en poussant une gallerie soutenue de chandeliers, et couverte de fascines, et Monsieur le Duc de Virtemberg fit fonder le guay en plain jour par deux Danois, armés de cuirasses, sous la faveur d'un feu continuel du canon et de mousquet. Le premier de ses desseins l'avorta par ce qu'on ne pouvoit pas construire le pont des pontons sans trop exposer ceux qui y travailleroient, pour le second l'on repara bien deux arches, mais la troisieme nous manqua au point de l'exécution, comme il se dira, si bien que de tant de projets pour passer ce fleuve avec une bonne teste, en cas que les ennemis fissent une vigoureuse defiance il ne nous resta que le guay quand ce dessein fut tenté, non obstant tout ce que ceux qui en consideroient la consequence, en cas que ce passage ne reussit pas a souhait, pussent alleguer pour en detourner le General et le persuader de fixer sa pensée sur quelqu'autre endroit, pourveu que le dessein en fut bien

secretement formé, et diligemment et resolument executé, il ne pouvoit pas bien manquer n'y risquer le service du Roy, tant ou nous voyons la main de Dieu fort visible, car, que ce passage ait este, contre toutes les maximes de guerre et d'estat, il paroît en ce qu'on s'engageoit dans une action, ou quoy qu'il ne fut pas possible d'y perdre plus de deux milles hommes, quy ne laisseroit pas, tant en Irlande, qu'aux autres estats de leurs Majestes et chez leurs Allies, de produire les mesmes mechants effects que une bataille perdue, veu quelle passeroit pour telle par-tout, et qu'il y eut cents raisons valables contre, ou les favoriseurs de ce dessein n'en pussent alleguer que le mepris des Irois pour le soutenir, il est constant quoy qu'il faille confesser en mesme temps que de la maniere que Dieu la fait reussir l'on n'auroit jamais pû mieux n'y si bien refoudre d'une autre maniere.

Le troisieme jour de nostre campement devant Athlone, et apres que nous fumes maistre de la ville de Leynster, voicy St. Ruth avec une nombreuse armée quy vint camper de l'autre coste se saisissant de toutes les hauteurs au dessus de la ville, et fit achever un retranchement qu'on avoit commencé le long de la riviere ou il logea du monde, c'estoit justement l'unique endroit pres de la ville ou l'on pût tenter le passage a l'ayde d'un pont, s'il n'y avoit pas une si grande force de l'autre costé, le terrain y estant fu, quy est sur les bords de cette riviere quelque chose de rare. L'on visita diligemment les bords de la riviere, et tout le monde trouvant du danger au dessein du passage par la ville, l'on seroit bien ayse qu'on pût tomber d'accord, d'un autre endroit quy n'en fut toutes fois guere loin ou il n'y eust pas tant de risque a courre, quel qu'un pensant en avoir trouve le secret propose qu'on fit passer l'infanterie sur un marais d'une grande estendue environ d'une bonne mille de la ville ou place, laquelle estant rangée sur le dit marais, ou la cavallerie ennemies ne pourroit pas l'approcher, elle pourroit puis apres descendre le plustost en bataille vers l'endroit ou les ennemis estoient retranchés, et la faire descendre sur le pont pour passer la cavallerie, dessein d'autant plus perillex que celui de forcer le passage par la ville qu'on y risqueroit visiblement la perte de

toute cette infanterie la ; premièrement, parceque celle des ennemis la pourroit attaquer à demie passée, que les hauteurs en estoient si pres que le mousquet y porteroit, ou les ennemis pourroient loger tout leur canon, et qu'en descendant pour favoriser le passage de la cavallerie, et l'emparer du retranchement ennemi, elle l'engageroit dans une playne commandée de bien pres, non seulement des fuidittes hauteurs, mais aussy de feu de la ville, et l'exposeroit a l'attaque de leur cavallerie. Qu'on juge apres cela de la nature de nos propositions. Quelque fois a cela je dis tout franchement, si le General ne pouvoit jetter sa pensée que sur l'une de ces deux ou par la, ou par la ville, que je serois pluſtoſt pour cette derniere, parcequ'on n'y pouroit pas risquer la perte de toute l'armée, a cause que nous y serions victorieux, ou aurions esté repouſſés avant que nous aurions fait pas passer 1200 hommes ; mais que si c'estoit a moy a choisir, j'en choissirois bien un troisieme, dont je prenois quelque fois la liberté d'entretenir Monsieur de Ghinckle tout seul, voyant que jamais nous n'en tomberions tellement d'accord au conseil de guerre qu'il n'en restat toujours matiere de scrupule pour luy, lequel jusqu'à lors n'avoit jamais fait le metier de l'infanterie ou des sieges, dont toutes fois il faloit tirer les exemples pour justifier ce qu'on propose de cette nature ; et comme on ne pouvoit jamais obtenir liberté dans nos conseils d'achever sans estre interrompu tout ce qu'on avoit a dire, je m'acoutumois de mettre mon opinion par escrit quy fut icy a Athlone comme l'enfuit.

Qu'on a estimé de tout temps le passage d'une riviere considerable, ou il faille defiler quatre a quatre par un seul pont en presence d'un ennemy quy n'est pas tout a fait mesprisable, l'estant sayſy de tous les avantages du terrain de l'autre costé, l'une de plus perilleuses actions de la guerre ; et pourtant que la plus part des passages de cette nature, dont nous avons des exemples se sont faits par surprise en donnant jalousie d'un costé pendant qu'on passoit d'un autre.

Que nostre marche vers Athlone et prise du costé de Leynſter de cette place, y ayant, suivant le deſſein quy nous y mena, attirées toutes les forces ennemis, l'occasion se presante si belle pour passer le Shanon a Melicks ou

Lanfboro, tous d'eux fournis de bons quays au report de ceux quy y avoient vescu toute leur vie, qu'on ne pouvoit pas la negliger a mon opinion qu'en s'attirant bien du blame, en cas que le passage ne reussit pas a fouhait de la maniere qu'on le propoisoit, par la ville ou au dessus d'elle.

Que je m'offrois d'entreprendre le dit passage par les troupes d'Inch-killing et de Derg, (a cause de la vitesse de ces corps pour une prompte expedition) marchant a la legere sans autre bagage que pour quatre jours de pain et de fourage, laissant leurs tentes, hardes, femmes, et enfants, dont ces troupes avoyent grand nombre, pour suivre avec l'armée.

Qu'on pourroit faire suivre cette teste, par autant de cavallerie et des dragons qu'on jugeroit apropos, le space de sept a huit heures de tems apres la marche des premieres, et de toute l'armée dans le temps de vingt-quatre heures, tant afin de soutenir cette teste qu'a fin que les ennemis, auxquels le pais et le quays estoient par tout connus, n'eussent pas le temps de couper entre deux.

Que pour effectuer le dit dessein, il faudroit, sans perdre temps, fortifier nostre costé d'Athlone, pour assurer la garnison avec l'artillerie et gros bagage, qu'on jugeroit apropos d'y laisser, pour n'en estre pas embarrassé a la marche.

Qu'il faudroit faire ce detachement vers le soir, sans que pas un des officiers fussent pour quel dessein, que le commandant-en-chef; ne se chargeant d'aucun train que quelques pieces de campagne, avec quelques legeres charretes-d'outils, pour remuer la terre, et des chevaux de frise.

Si le General trouvoit bon que ce fut du costé de Melicks, que le mesme jour qu'on feroit le detachement au soir, l'on mit quelques pieces en batterie pour battre le retranchement des ennemis le long du bord de la riviere au dessus de la ville, faisant en mesme tems un detachement du costé de Lanfboro, quy eut ordre de faire mine de vouloir reparer le pavé que les ennemis y auroient rompu, le tout pour detourner leur pensée de nostre vray dessein, le dit detachement ayant ordre de retourner vers l'heure que l'armée devoit marcher pour luy servir d'arriere garde.

Si le General approuvoit ce dessein qu'il fit marcher les regiments d'infanterie, au nombre de deux ou trois qui se trouvoient affemblées a Connelle en attendant ses ordres, droit a Rosserea [Roscrea], pour joyndre l'armée, afin de remplacer ceux qu'il faudroit laisser en garnison a Athlone.

Que la petite garnison que les ennemis tenoient au milieu du quay [gué] de Melicks, dans une tour, n'en empêcheroit nullement le passage, parce quand même elle ne l'abandonneroit pas, comme il estoit a presumer a la vue de nos troupes, l'on y pourroit poster des fusilliers qui tireroient incessamment a leurs fenestres, et les empêcheroient de tirer sur les passans.

Que pour son coup d'autant plus seur, le General pourroit envoyer un certain Trench, ministre d'une paroisse tout pres de quay [gué], personne fort fidelle a l'intérêt, qui fournilloit souvent quelque intelligence de ce côté-la, lequel moyenant une escorte, et vingt-quatre heures d'avertissement, l'obligea de rapporter exacte intelligence du nombre des troupes que les ennemis auroient de ce côté-la, et comment posté.

Qu'il pourroit arriver que sur le bruit de ce passage, si peu attendu des ennemis, la garnison du fort au bout du pont de Banaker n'estant qu'en méchant estat, l'abandonneroit, ou que l'occasion se presenta de l'emporter d'emblée, mais qu'au pis aller, ce detachment se mettroit tellement a couvert en fix heures de temps que d'assurer le passage a l'armée.

Que le dit passage estant heureusement reussy, il est incontestable que les ennemis seroit obligés de se retirer d'aupres d'Athlone, ou ils n'avoient des vivres que du jour au lendemain, parceque la voieture leur manquoit, si bien qu'il leur falloit faire des frequents detachements de leur cavallerie, pour en porter a cheval de Portunay (d'où le dit passage couperoit leur communication) au camp, et que par le même manquement de vivres, ils ne pourroient pas passer la riviere pour nous couper les nostres, si ce n'est que le méchant estat de Molingar ne leur en fit concevoir la pensée ; mais il est vray semblable, qu'ils ne feroient pas ce mouvement la de peur que nous ne les coupassions du Shanon ; si bien qu'ils n'auroient pas de meilleur party a prendre que de l'aller poster entre Gallvay et Limerick,

d'ou ils tiroient leur subsistance, s'ils ne vouloyent hasarder la bataille. Et si d'autre costé l'on fut pluſtot d'avis de tenter le paſſage a Lanſboro, l'on pourroit donner de la jaloſie vers Rachera et Banaker ; ce paſſage couvriroit Molingar, et nous aſſurerait nos vivres, parcequ'a Lanſboro nous en ferions plus proches qu'a Athlone ; outre qu'il ſeroit impoſſible aux ennemis de venir avec le gros de leurs troupes pour ſe poſter avantageuſement pres de Lanſboro, (dont ce pais fourni generallement grande commodité a un ennemy qui ſe met ſur la deſſenſive), pour nous empêcher ayant paſſé la riviere, la marche vers Athlone, d'autant que par ce mouvement, ils s'eloigneroient de ſeize a dix-huit milles d'avantage de leur ſubſiſtance.

Je representay, comme je diſ deſſus, toutes ces choſes au General teſte a teſte, et m'offris pour en eſtre l'executeur ; mais, comme il ne pouvoit pas gouter le deſſein de Lanſboro, quoy qu'il me ſemblaſt le plus raſonnable de tous, parceque j'en viens de dire, et qu'il luy fut impoſſible d'aſſurer l'armée de douze jours de pain, qu'il ſaloit avoir avec pour faire l'autre marche, et la ſubſiſter juſqu'a ce qu'on eut eſtably la communication avec nos magazins par la priſe d'Athlone, (laquelle, apres l'arryve de l'armée devant cette place de l'autre costé, ne nous couſteroit pas deux fois vingt-quatre heures), toutes ces propoſitions furent rejetées. Par la nous voyons viſiblement, comme on avoit negligé ce ſoin tant neceſſaire, non ſeulement d'avoir des magazins bien fournis, en divers endroits, ſelon le plan que le General ſe feroit d'en former par avance de la campagne, mais auſſy d'avoir fait l'amas des vivres neceſſaires dans l'unique magafin qu'on avoit de ce costé-la, et m' imagine facilement que Monſieur de Ghinckle l'en eſtoit promis toute autre choſe ; mais comme ce grand deſtaile d'une armée, avec toute ſa deſpendance, luy eſtoient une choſe nouvelle, il ſe deſchargea volontiers du ſoin des vivres ſur le Pereras, qu'il ſcavoit en avoir eue une longue pratique ; et ceux-cy, trouvant qu'ils avoyent fait un accord tres avantageuſe pour eux avec le Roy, a ſcavoir qu'il auroit ſeulement beſoin de faire tel amas de bled et des farines, et en tels lieux que le General leur ordonneroit, le Roy eſtant

obligé de fournir la voieture de-la a l'armée, comme auffy de payer le pain quy feroit gaffé, estoient bien ayfés de ne pas recevoir des ordres precis, fçachant que leur accord les tireroit toujours d'affaire ; par laquelle conduite, ces gens ont profité extremement du fervice du Roy, fans quafy rien rifquer, ce quy me fait croire que Monsieur de Ghinckle estoit perfuadé que les chofes fe trouvoient mieux difpofées, c'eft que je l'avois entendu fe vanter que de quelque coûté du royaume qu'il tourneroit la tefte, l'armée ne pult manquer d'un jour de pain pendant la campagne, quoy que nous en experimentaffions bientoft le contraire.

Cependant, dans l'irrefolution de ce qu'on devoit entreprendre, l'on ne laiffa pas de battre toujours le coûté des ennemis de la ville de toute la groffe artillerie, comme de reparer le pont de la maniere que je touche deffus, de propofer le moyen de jeter un autre pont des pontons au-deffus de celuy de pierre, et en mefine temps de travailler, quoy que foiblement à metre noftre coûté de la ville en deffiance, comme fi Dieu avoit degouté ceux quy en avoyent le foin pour toute autre chofe et entreprife, que celle par laquelle il avoit déterminé de nous rendre les maitres du Shanon. Le General fouhaitta qu'on mit le projet de l'attaque et paffage par la ville par efcrit, dont Monsieur de Tetau et moy en fit chacun un ; qu'on ne pouvoit pourtant tout observer, parceque nous fufmes reduits au feul paffage du quay. A la fin, au lieu des quatre endroits que nous nous propofions quand on commençoit de propofer cette attaque, il fut auffy refolu qu'elle feroit commandée par deux generaux-majors, et pour elloignier toutes matieres de difpute, que ce feroit par celluy quy fe trouveroit de jour au pofté, et celluy quy fe fuivroit ou devoit relever, ce quy fut arrêté entre les generaux-majors quelques jours auparavant, en cas que cette attaque ce fit. Cependant Monsieur de Ghinckle, par fon zelle pour le fervice et le regard de la reputation, ne fçachant a quel avis deftera, fe trouva dans la plus grande inquietude du monde. Comme en paffant je puis tefmoigner en fincerité que je n'ay jamais fait une campagne quy me fournift tant de chagrin que celle-la, voyant un affaire dont humaine-ment dependoit le bonheur ou malheur de l'Europe, et furtout du pro-

testantisme, maniée d'une maniere si peu convenable a l'importance de l'affaire ; car, entre nous, la pluralité et non pas la substance des avis l'emportoit en ces affaires croustilleuses, dont le General, par les raisons cy-dessus touchées, n'avoit pas tout les éclaircissement necessaire, ce qu'y faisoit qu'il aymoit mieux arrester par collection des avis que par choix, croyant par la de pouvoir mieux repondre de l'evenement, quoy que les princes esclairés examinent par les vrayes maximes de la guerre (au moins le doit en toujours faire) plustot que par le regard des personnes qu'y avissent, n'y de l'inegalité du nombre pour le pour, et pour le contre ; outre qu'un general qu'y n'agit que par collection des voix ne peut jamais se proposer d'arrester quelque chose dont on nait le vent dans l'armée, et par consequant dans celle des ennemis, s'il luy arrive d'avoir a faire a un general entendu au metier, et qu'y n'espargne point sa bourse pour avoir l'avis necessaire des mesures de son ennemy, mesme quant tous ceux qu'y entrent au conseil fussent fort fidelles au service de leur maistre commun ; parcequ'il ne se trouvent que rarement un nombre des gens si secrets qu'il ne s'en trouvent qu'y communiquent ce qu'ils scavent a quelques amis, quand cella ne seroit que pour en scavoir leur jugement, si bien qu'aux affaires intriqués de la guerre, dont le General d'armée voulut s'esclaircir du sentiment des officiers experimentés de son armée. J'estime la methode de ceux qu'y ne laissent pas d'esssembler leur officiers pour leur communiquer ce qu'ils scavent de l'estat des ennemis leur faissant la dessus quantité des questions par voye d'interrogative, et leur permettant d'en faire marquant ce qu'ils trouvent peser, toutes fois sans former leur resolution definitive, en plain conseil, afin quelle ne soit eventée, la secretesse estant si necessaire quand les armées sont a peu pres de mesme force, que sans elle on se trouve toujours prevenu.

Enfin, toute l'Irlande protestante estoit tellement apprehensive du succes de cette entreprise, que la ville de Dublin ne se croyoit plus en seureté, si bien que le gouvernement donna ordre de baricader toutes les avenues ce que je leur avois proposé d'abord, que je sceus que nous n'avions pas des troupes pour former un camp-volant, qu'y couvrit le

pais de l'obeyffance de leurs Majesté; mais alors ils n'y voulurent point entendre.

Enfin, apres beaucoup des conceils sans rien pouvoir arrester diffinitivement, je vins un soir fort tard trouver Monsieur de Ghinckle, et le priay de songer aux defordres qu'un affront pourroit causer aux affaires du Roy, non seulement dans les trois royaumes, mais aussy chez les estrangers, luy propofant derefchef de tenter le passage aillieurs, sans qu'il fust neceffaire de bouger de la, qu'il ne fut averty, qu'on l'auroit franchy, le priant de m'en charger, ne doutant pas pourveu que les quays [gués] fuffent tels que les luy representois, d'un heureux succes et effectivement. Je crus l'avoir laiffé bien perfuadé de mon sentiment, m'ayant promis qu'il furprendroit tout le monde de ce deffein estant d'avis d'en rien communiquer au conseil de guerre; mais en faisant semblant de poursuivre le deffein, dont la plus part des generaux estoient entestes, faire ce destachement quand on n'y penseroit pas, si bien que j'estois surpris le lendemain au matin lorsque pensant la trouver logé ou je l'avois laiffé la nuit precedante, on m'avertit qu'on avoit fait les destachements de toute l'armée pour l'attaque, le monde se trouvant sur le lieu; et Monsieur de Ghinckle agité tant de ses propres apprehensions, que des avis differents de ceux qu'il consultoit, demeurant encore irresolu de ce qu'il devoit faire, l'on le vint avertir que les ennemis avoient mis le feu a l'arche rompue de leur pont de pierre, qu'y estoit au bout du dit pont, sur laquelle l'on avoit passé le gros bois ou falivos, si bien qu'il ne faloit que poser les planches, ce qu'on ne pouvoit faire qu'a mefme tems qu'on commenceroit l'affaut par le guay, cette avis mit fin a l'affaire pour ce jour la, et l'on renvoya les destachements, avec ordre de se tenir prefts les mefmes officiers et monde, ou l'on remarqua la tristesse peinte aux visages des foldats, n'augurans rien de bon de ce changement de conceil, quoy que la direction celeste fust visiblement veue en cet accident, qu'y parroissoit casuel aux yeux de ceux qui ne montent de leurs pensées plus haut que la terre; car ce jour la, les ennemis voyans de leur camp qu'on faisoit defiler des troupes vers la ville, non pas a l'heure ordinaire d'y relever les regiments qu'y se trouvoient de garde,

mais le matin, remplirent la ville des bonnes troupes, de forte qu'ils se trouvoient en bon estat de nous recevoir, au lieu que voyant qu'on ne les avoit pas attaqués ce jour la, jugeans comme il estoit vray que c'estoit, parcequ'ils nous avoyent rendu le pont impassable, ils conclurent que c'en estoit fait, et ne s'attendoient plus a une attaque par cette endroite, y ayant fait relever la garde ce soir la par trois de leurs plus mechants bataillons, comme on le sceut le lendemain par le General-Major Maxuel, qu'on prit prisonnier, et commandoit en chef dans la place lorsqu'on l'attaqua, Monsieur de Tefse estant allé faire un tour au camp ; aussy leurs soldats reprochoient toute la nuit suivante, qu'ils n'avoient pas osé gagner la guinea par teste que Monsieur de Ghinckle proposoit aux huit cents grenadiers qui devoient donner les premiers cette nuit. Monsieur le Duc de Virtemberg, ayant deviné ce qu'y, par l'imprudence des ennemis et notre bonheur, arriva, pressa le General de reprendre le mesme dessein le lendemain, quoy qu'il n'y eust point d'autre passage que le seul guay dans l'esperance de surprendre les ennemis, et pour leur en cacher d'autant mieux la connoissance l'on delibera de faire defiler les destachements a l'heure ordinaire de relever les postes, et autant hors leur veue qu'on pouvoit, deffendant, en mesme temps, que personne se mit sur les hauteurs voisines, dont les ennemis pussent conjecturer quelque nouveauté.

Le jour precedant, le General-Major Talmash estant de garde a la ville, c'auroit esté a luy de commander les sujets du Roy a la droite de l'attaque, comme a Monsieur Tetau les estrangers a la gauche, parceque c'estoit a luy de relever Talmash ; mais le dit Talmash, sortant de tour ce soir la, c'estoit a moy de prendre la droite, selon que nous fumes convenus ensemble, si bien qu'apres dîner, je fus recevoir les ordres de Monsieur de Ghinckle, lequel me respondit que Talmash devoit continuer ce poste, suivant qu'il en avoit ordonné la nuit d'apparavant, que les mesmes officiers et soldats se tinssent prêts ; je luy respondis que cet ordre ne me regardoit pas, parcequel' attaque se devoit faire a mon tour, que je ne souffrirois pas qu'on la fist pour moy, ajoutant que bien que

mon jugement, ne pouvoit pas l'approuver que je ne laifferois pas moyenant l'affistance de Dieu de l'avancer, autant qu'il me feroit possible, me doutant bien que les entestés de ce dessein ne luy eussent inspiré la pensée de prendre ce pretexte pour y employer un autre que moy, parceque je m'y oppoisois. Il me repliqua, qu'il en feroit fort satisfait, mais que les autres officiers pretendroient le mesme raison, parceque c'estoit une chose continue entre les generaux-majors de son aveu, si bien que nous ne reconnoistrions point d'autre ordre au contraire, et que ce destachement estant pourveu d'un double nombre d'officiers, toute l'armée n'en pouvoit pas assez fournir pour les relever. Il me pria donc d'aller trouver Talmash, au moins pour l'en avertir, ce que je luy consentis, lequel me respondit que puis que je le voulois ainfi, que je luy permissé d'estre mon volontaire ; a quoy je repliquay, que c'estoit assez d'engager en cette affaire la moitie des generaux de l'infanterie, et qu'il se faloit mesnager pour d'autres occasions, ou il y en auroit besoin, aussi bien que la. Ayant donné ordre pour faire defiler le monde, je me transportay a poste pour les y attendre et faire renger, selon qu'ils devoient marcher au guay ; mais comme je trouvois que les officiers ne faisoient pas toute la diligence que je voulois bien pour les renger de la mesme maniere que le jour precedant, comme je leur avois recommandé, et que j'apprehendois que Monsieur de Tetau n'eust plustost fait, a cause qu'il sçavoit des le jour d'auparavant d'assigner a chacun son poste ; ayant fait le mesme maniere, alors je commence a faire defiler les grenadiers, les faisant suivre des autres le mieux que je pouvois, apres leur avoit recommandé de ferrer les rangs dans l'eau jusqu'au bout de l'épée, qu'ils ne tirassent qu'a bout portant, et que ceux qui n'avoient point d'épée ou bayonnete, apres avoir tires leurs coups de se servir de la croffe de leurs mousquets, leur representans, en mesme tems, l'importance de se porter vaillamment a cette action, dont tous le succes dependoit d'une premier vigueur ; sçachans bien que si nous ne l'emportions d'abord que c'en estoit fait, nous fîmes donc de costé et d'autre par deux chemins defiler la teste de nos destachements jusqu'au bord de la riviere, en attendant le signal quy fut le son d'une petite cloche de l'église, que y avoit

restée, faisant bien ferrer les soldats pour qu'il eust aucune distance ou intervalle, afin qu'on eut le plus qu'il se pût de monde a la main en montant la breche. Cependant, l'on avoit préparés quantité des echaffaux eslevés contre les mourailles, quy se trouvoient encore de bout dans la ville, quy descouvrirent dans les postes ennemis pour les empecher de tirer a leur aise sur les passans; pointans, en mesme tems, tout nostre canon grand et petit le plus avantageusement qu'on pût pour le mesme sujet, le signal susdit estant donné, les grenadiers se jetterent dans l'eau, menés de mon costé d'un certain Colonel Gustave Hamilton, devancé d'un destachement de trente, et un autre de cinquante grenadiers; apres luy suivist le Prince d'Hesse d'Armstad, jeune seigneur fort honneste et brave, lequel je devois soutenir avec le reste du destachement des sujets du Roy, comme devoit faire Monsieur de Tetau a la gauche avec les estrangers; trouvant donc les grenadiers tous defilés dans l'eau, et voyant que les suivans observoyent exactement mes ordres en marchant ferrés, laissant la un ayde-de-camp pour recommander aux officiers toute diligence a me suivre avec leur monde, de peur qu'on ne negligeast quelque circonstance et precautions quy renverfassent des favorables commencemens, comme il arrive souvent a ces sortes d'actions, surtout quand les officiers ne sont pas fort experimentés, je me mis dans la riviere, prenant la droite de mon destachement pour n'en estre pas empeché, ayant cinque a six officiers reformés et aide-de-camp avec moy; l'eau, quy estoit fort rapide et playne des grosses pierres, me venant jusqu'a la ceinture. Au pied de la breche je rencontray le General-Major Maxuel, que les premiers entrés venoient de faire prisonnier; et quoy que la breche, estant de terre noire et maracageuse, fut randue fort glissante, nos gens ne laisserent pas de la monter bien viste, l'assistans l'un l'autre; et comme il y eut au milieu de cette grande face vers la riviere un vieil chatteau de mourailles fort espais, qu'on ne pouvoit pas tout-a-fait ouvrir mais seulement trouer, l'on commanda un lieutenant-colonel Anglois du regiment du Prince de Hesse, nommé Colombin, avec deux cents fusiliers, pour attaquer le dit chateau, pendant que je m'ellargirois vers la droite du dit chateau, pour m'enparer

des rempards du fort, quand nous aurions chassés les ennemis de tout ce front qui regardoit la riviere, comme Monsieur de Tetau devoit faire de son costé jusqu'a ce que nous nous fussions joints sur le dit rempard, qui formoit la defence de la place du costé de la campagne regardant vers l'armée ennemie.

Sortant donc de la riviere, et voyans qu'un gros du monde qui avoit passé devant se pouffoit par une rue qui alloit droit vers un gros bastion au milieu de la fortification ennemie, jugeant que le Colonel Hamilton et le Lieutenant-Colonel Colombin, avec leurs detachements, avoient suivi leur ordre, je me pouffay du costé du dit gros bastion pour m'en emparer ce qui vint fort apropos ; car les premiers des ennemis qui avoient fait teste a nos gens fortans du guay, les premiers ayants esté culbuttés, l'espouvante se mit dans toute leur garnison, si bien que tout enfuyant a la course, sauta les rempards du costé de leur armée. Il y avoit a la gauche de ce gros bastion un petit, ou les ennemis avoient fait breche pour relever et porter des facines et autres choses dans la place hors la vue de notre canon, ou les plus avancés des Danois arrivant pour suivre les ennemis jusques dans la contrescarpe, qui estoit toute ouverte sans palissades ou parapet, ce qui seroit cause que les Anglois qui ne demeurent guere volontiers, les derniers auroient sauté du rempard en bas en la poursuite des fuyards, si je ne me trouvois justement la pour les empêcher et porter a mesure qu'ils m'arrivoient a la main le long du parapet, et dans les deffances, ce que Monsieur de Tetau fit aussi de son costé d'abord qu'il arriva sur le lieu, faisant boucher d'abord la dite breche, ne permettant pas que ceux qui sortirent par ce mouvement temeraire rentraissent que jusqu'a la nuit, faisant des reprimandes aux officiers commandans ces premiers detachements de ses gens de l'estre si inconsiderement emportés d'une maniere qui auroit pu nous causer la perte de ce que nous avions si heureusement gagné avec si peu de perte et de resistance, si l'on ne s'y estoit trouvé justement presant pour y remedier. C'est pour apprendre aux vainqueurs de ne se laisser tellement emporter de l'apparence d'un plus grand avantage qu'ils ne tachent de

l'affurer celluy qu'ils auroient deja emporté preferablement a la pourfuitte d'un plus grand, et enfin d'agir partout avec du jugement, car il n'y avoit rien a gagner d'avantage que ce dont nous eftions deja les maîtres, fi bien qu'il ne reftoit qu'a difpofer le monde le long du rampard, et dans les deffances, en cas que les fecours quy venoyent aux attaques fe miffent en devoir de reprendre ce qu'ils venoient de perdre. Les ennemis, depuis le commencement du fiege, tenoient quelques battallions derriere leur rempard hors la vue de nostre canon pour en fortifier la garnifon, en cas qu'on tentaft par la le paffage de la riviere; et pour ce fujet, aufly bien que pour relever la garde de la place, et pour y porter les chofes neceffaires de toutes fortes, avoyent fait la fufditte ouverture dans la face d'un de leurs baffions, comme j'ay touché deffus. Mais deux jours avant l'attaque, l'on s'avisâ de metre quelques legeres pieces de canon en batterie au deffous de la place, d'ou elles puffent enfiler l'endroit ou fes batalions se tenoient de reserve, dont il leur falluft se retirer de quelques centaines de pas de la, dont nous ne remarquâmes l'utilité qu'a l'attaque, car effectivement ils ne pouvoient pas fi trouver quand mefme ils en euflent la volonté affés a tems pour foute nir les leurs contre une attaque fi prompte et inattendue, n'ayant point d'endroit pour y entrer que par une ouverture de deux toiffes de largeur, au lieu que s'ils avoyoient applanié une courtine, comme Meffieurs de Maxuell et de Wachop foustien nent avoir confeillé, et retranchée la garge des baffions de la droite et gauche de la ditte courtine, nous n'aurions pas pu maintenir cette conquête quand mefme nous l'aurions emportée, parceque nos gens fortoient de l'eau en petit nombre a la fois et en defordres; fi bien que la peur caufée par la furprife deffit les ennemis plutoft que les efforts de nôtres, de forte que les Irois ayans une grande ouverture efpaulée de cofté et d'autre de deux baffions retranchés par ou ils auroient pu faire marcher un battaillon de front au fecours des leurs, ils nous auroient facilement chaffées et fait retourner plus vifte que nous n'estions venus, parcequ'ils nous rencontreroient en confufion, et qu'il y avoit quantité des petits retranchemens et des traverses dans la place, ou peu des gens refolus

entrés au secours des fuyards nous auroient pu arrester, et que la teste venant a l'arrester l'espouvante se mettoit naturellement aux fuivans, a cause que les plus ignorans regardoient cette attaque comme une action desesperée, impression capable d'espouvanter les meilleurs troupes s'il leur arrivoit de rencontrer bonne resistance, et s'il nous avoit falu nous loger sur le bord de la riviere, nous en aurions été infailliblement chassés, pourveu que les ennemis fussent entreprenans, sans qu'il y eut moyen de soutenir nos logemens que par le guay, que nos propres gens, s'ils venoient appuyer nous empêcheroient; mais Dieu, qui veilloit d'une maniere toute extraordinaire sur les armes de leurs Majestés, pourvut a tout.

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Relation de la Bataille d'Aghagm, avec quelques Reflexions sur ce qui la precedoit depuis la prise d'Athlone.

CETTE place estant prise d'assaut, apres avoir faite breche suffisante et fondé le gué, par lequel il falloit aller a l'assaut, l'on ne put pas d'abord passer la riviere pour fuivre les ennemis, qui se retiroient a Ballinasloe, situé sur une petite riviere appellé Sucke, qu'on ne put pas aussi passer que par des ponts et gués, parcequ'il falloit, premierement, faire transporter nostre magasin des vivres de Molingar a Athlone, pour de la les transporter plus facilement a l'armée, aussi nous manquant des boulets pour nos pieces de campagne.

Le General estant averty tant par ses partis, que ses espions que les ennemis s'estoient retirés a Ballinasloe, mit en deliberation par quel chemin il les devoit approcher, ou les uns vouloient qu'on marchast tout droit a eux par le dit passage Ballinasloe, disant qu'on perdroit autrement deux jours de tems en passant cette riviere a dix milles plus haut que le camp des ennemis.

A ce sentiment les autres objectoient, qu'il ne faudroit pas toujours

donner trop beau jeu aux ennemis, que ce feroit trop tanter la providance de Dieu, qu'on ne pouvoit pas faire grand estat sur les imparfaites idées du pais, qu'on pût tirer des gens qui n'étoient pas du metier, qu'allant droit aux ennemis l'une des choses fuivantes arriveroit naturellement, ou qu'il faudroit attaquer les ennemis quelque avantageux qu'ils fussent postés, ou se retirer sur ses pas manque de fourage ; étant a presumer qu'il n'y en pût avoir dans un campement, ou les ennemis avoyent si long tems séjourné, si peu de tems auparavant ; au lieu que prenant son chemin par Montalbot dix a douze milles plus haut sur le meme riviere, l'on auroit abondance de fourage pour n'estre pas pressé de prendre conseil de la necessité, l'on donneroit de la jalousie pour Galway aux ennemis qui leur feroit apparemment decamper ou faire quelqu'autre mouvement, dont paravanture l'on put rencontrer occasion de les combattre ; et que plus on montat la riviere, moins trouveroit on d'obstacle a la passer, et qu'en tout cas l'on ne pouvoit pas conter les jours a la guerre sans donner par son impatience de l'avantage a son ennemie. La dessus le General envoya reconnoître les deux chemins, et se declara pour le dernier, scavoir Montalbot ; mais la veille de la marche étant averti, que pour certain les ennemis estoient descampés, il prend l'autre, et s'étant venu camper la premiere nuit a trois mils de Ballinasloe, poussa jusques la pour decouvrir la verité de ce qu'on luy avoit raporté, et trouva qu'il ni avoit point d'ennemis sur le bord de la riviere, ni pres de ce passage ; mais il lui sembla descourir des tentes a trois mils au desla. Neanmoins l'on continua la marche le lendemain jusqu'a Ballinasloe. Il fut consulté si on devoit passer la riviere ce jour-la, ou camper de nostre costé, ou il y eut des pour et des contre ; car si on ne la passoit pas, les ennemis pourroient venir de nuit saisir les hauteurs vis-a-vis de nostre camp, d'ou leur canon nous incommoderoit en nostre camp, et le voisinage de leur armée de si pres rendroit nostre passage dans cette endroite douteux.

Ceux qui soustenoient qu'il ne falloit pas passer de cette nuit alleguoient qu'on auroit trop peu de jour pour passer, et puis reconnoître jusques pres du camp ennemy, que puis qu'ils avoient occupés des hauteurs bien

pres de celles, dont nous les pouillions decouvrir le plus pres ; qu'il n'estoit pas seur qu'ils n'avoient leur armée rangé derriere les dites hauteurs dans le dessein de marcher a nous d'abord, qu'ils nous veroient defiler, l'estans peut-estre éloignés expres a ce dessein du passage ; que nostre canon estoit encore bien loin et ne nous pouvoit pas servir a ce passage, que les ennemis ayans choisi ce camp favorable au bord de la riviere, il n'estoit guere vray semblable, qu'ils en changeassent le dessein pour l'effect qu'ils pouroient esperer de leur canon, quoy qu'avantageusement logé contre le nostre, qu'ils scavoient estre tant superieur au leur ; et finalement, que nostre cavallerie deja fort fatigué patiroit fort en passant cette nuit, a cause qu'il ni avoit point du fourage dans le camp, et qu'il faloit tenir les chevaux au piquet sans ofer envoyer loin au fourage au dela d'un defilé. Estant si pres d'un ennemy qui sembloit nous attendre, et se trouvant faisi des postes, dont ils pouvoient decouvrir tous tels mouvements, de toutes ses representations differantes, le General resolut de camper cette nuit du costé d'ou il venoit, et le soir a l'ordre, ayant fait assembler tous les generaux et brigadiers, l'ordre de bataille fut arresté, scavoir, qu'il y eut de chaque aile d'infanterie trois bataillons rengés dans les intervalles de la premiere ligne de cavallerie, et autant a la seconde ligne, mais rangé autrement, scavoir, trois bataillons tous ensemble au milieu de chaque brigade de cette ligne. Le quartier-maistre-general devoit passer d'abord, que nos gardes se feroient poussés sur les hauteurs pour marquer le terrain ou l'on se rangeroit dans le dit ordre a couvert de dites hauteurs ; l'infanterie devoit toute passer par un pont de pierre, en cas que les ennemis nous en laissassent le loisir ; autrement passer aussi bien que la cavallerie, partie par les gués, et partie par le dit pont. N'ayant pas pû trainer les pontons manque de chevaux, le canon passeroit par une gué tout pres du pont, et la cavallerie par deux autres devant leur camp.

Tout estant préparé, et chaque general et brigadier scachant son poste, et ce qu'il auroit affaire, l'on commence a defiler l'armée, des que le General ayant fait avancer des gens detachés sur les memes hauteurs qu'il avoit occupés le jour d'auparavant, eut observé autant qu'il pût la contenance des

ennemis en perſonne, avec le Duc de Virtemberg et les autres generaux ; mais comme le terrain ſe retraiſſoit par deux marais (dont l'on couvrit entierement l'aile gauche) a une demie mile du paſſage, le General trouvant tout paſſé, ſans qu'on puſt decouvrir aucun mouvement dans le camp des ennemy, et ne ſcachant pas ſ'ils ne ſe trouvoient rangés derriere des hauteurs entre nous et leur camp, pour prendre leur tems de nous attaquer quand nous avancerions au deſſa des dites marais, pour nous elargir de l'autre coſté, tant ſur la droite que principalement ſur la gauche, ordonna a Monſieur de Seravemoer de faire avancer quelques eſcadrons pour ſe ſaiſir des hauteurs de la droite, ou les ennemis avoyent a noſtre veue des petites gardes avancés, ce qu'ayant eſté executé, il l'y tranſporta avec tous les generaux. De la il pouvoit decouvrir tout leur camp, mais comme il y avoit devant leur droite une grande eſtendue de terrain couvert d'une hauteur, dont ils eſtoient encore les maîtres, il fit de la main avancer une partie de ce qu'il avoit autour de luy pour les deſloger de la, ou bien decouvrir ce qui ſe trouvoit poſté derriere ; mais comme il ni avoit pas grand choſe l'on ſ'en rendiſt maître, et de la l'on put voir que le deſſein des ennemis eſtoit de ſe ſervir de l'avantage de leur poſte de pied ferme. Le General ayant tout decouvert et conſulté du terrain le plus propre, ſelon la diſpoſition du camp ennemy pour un campement ou champ de bataille, ſelon que l'occaſion ſ'en preſenteroit, donna ordre pour avancer les troupes, pendant que les quartiers generals marqueroit ſon terrain a chaque corps ; et voyant d'une hauteur, ou il ſe tenoit a cheval, que les ennemis faiſſoient mine de l'arreter dans des jardinayes, pres deſquels les troupes de noſtre aile gauche devoient camper, et loin d'une groſſe mile de l'aile droite des ennemis, dont ce poſte fut detaché, commanda les dragons de Cuninghame, ſouſtenue de quelque cavallerie Danoïſe, de les en aller chaffer, ou il arriva quelque eſcarmouche les ennemis faiſant d'autres detachements a la file de leur armée, rangée a la teſte de leur camp pour les ſouſtenir, ce que le General obſervant, il fit avancer le regiment d'Eppinger, et puis voyant les ennemis ſ'avancer en plus grand nombre, le fit ſuivre de toutes les troupes de la

gauche qui devoient se ranger sur ce terrain ; l'escarmouche s'eschauffant de plus en plus, l'on crut remarquer quelques mouvements au camp ennemi, comme s'ils retiroient des troupes, surtout de la cavallerie de leur aile gauche pour fortifier leur droite, ce qui donna sujet au General Major Mackay de dire au General, qu'on avoit souvent veu des plus petits commencemens attirer une bataille, luy proposant, en meme tems, si son excellence ne jugeroit pas a propos, puisque sa droite sembloit estre couverte d'un marais, de retirer une partie de sa cavallerie de la pour fortifier sa gauche, ou le terrain entre les deux armées sembloit plus ouvert et propre pour la cavallerie ; ajoutant que pour empêcher que les ennemis ne se servissent de toute leur cavallerie a leur droite, si elle ne trouveroit pas bon qu'on fît descendre quelques bataillons de nostre droite vers le marais, qui la separeroit de la gauche des ennemis pour en chasser quelques gardes qu'ils avoient avancés vers l'entré du dit marais de nostre côté, et en meme tems reconnoître si tout ce qui nous sembloit a cette distance inaccessible estoit effectivement tel. Le General luy commanda de s'y transporter avec les Generaux-Majors de Ruvignie et Talmash, et de s'y gouverner selon qu'il le jugeroit a propos sur le lieu, et que le terrain s'y trouveroit disposé. Suivant le quel ordre, il fît descendre du terrain, ou ils s'alloient camper quelques bataillons de la premiere ligne de l'aile droite ; et les ennemis, sur ce mouvement, estans retirés vers un chateau qui couvroit la gauche de l'armée ennemi, ayant visité le terrain, et trouvant de l'espace pour y ranger environ quatre bataillons de front, les fit avancer sous le canon des ennemis, rangeant, en meme tems, quelques escadrons des chevaux et dragons derriere, et donna ordre pour fonder un petit rivolet ou vaiffeau qui passoit au travers du marais sur la gauche de l'endroit qu'on avoit deja occupé, afin que si le General ou se trouvoit engagé au combat par l'escarmouche deja commencé a nostre gauche, ou par aventure jugeroit a propos d'attaquer les ennemis dans leur poste, que nostre droite pût attaquer leur gauche d'un plus grand front, on fit aussi avancer de ce côté-la douze pieces de campagne pour tirer a trois, dont les ennemis nous incommodoient de la hauteur, comme

auffy a des escadrons et bataillons qu'on voyoit rangés sur les dites hauteurs, et derriere des troupes avancées qu'ils avoient logés tout le long du bas des hauteurs, et sur le bord du marais, depuis le chateau jusqu'a nostre gauche dans des hayes, lesquelles se trouvoient encore couvertes d'un fossé d'eau et boubier, ou de l'infanterie avoit de la payne a passer. Ces choses se trouvant ainly disposées, le General-Major Mackay s'en contenta jusqu'a autre ordre, ne voiant pas avancer la gauche qui hormis les troupes escarmouchantes se trouvoient encore a une mile distante de la droite des ennemis. La dessus le General-Major Talmafh, qui commandoit la seconde brigade d'infanterie a la droite, dit qu'il falloit des l'instant attaquer la gauche des ennemis; auquel Mackay, qui commandoit la en chef, respondit, qu'outre l'avantage du poste ennemi, couvert premierelement d'un fossé, ou estang regnant tout le long de leur front, derriere lequell des hayes, au bas de leurs hauteurs bien bordés de moutetrie detaché, et derriere tout cela leurs bataillons, et esquadrons rangés en bataille prests a repouffer ceux qui auroient le bonheur de surmonter les premieres difficultés que nostre gauche estoit encore si loin de la droite des ennemis, qu'ils pourroient employer la plus grand part de leurs forces contre nous, et apres nous avoir repouffes s'en servir asses a tems contre les troupes de nostre gauche, avant qu'ils pussent estre a portée de leur droite, Talmafh se tournant vers le Marquis de Ruignie luy demanda si on ne devoit pas attaquer, lequel respond, qu'il estoit la a l'ordre du General-Major Mackay, et prêt a marcher quand il le luy commanderoit, Monsieur Talmafh s'echauffant la dessus, dit qu'il estoit de la seconde ligne, et qu'il s'en alloit a son poste si on ne vouloit pas attaquer les ennemis, ajoutant, que puisque le General s'en estoit remis a Monsieur Mackay, il n'en deut pas faire tant de difficulté; tant pis luy respondit Mackay, puisque je le juge si mal apropos que le moindre esclaire au metier le condamnera, mais pour vous fatisfaire, ajouta-t-il, j'envoye au General pour lui faire la description du poste ennemy et mon jugement, s'il a dessein d'attaquer leur armée, que ce soit sans perdre de temps, et partout, en meme tems, ce qu'ayant fait, le General aparemment

empêché à la gauche lui fit dire, par l'aide de camp de Monsieur de Ruvignie, qu'il en agist selon son jugement ; lequel lui ayant envoyé d'eschef le General vient lui même, et ayant entendu ses raisonnemens il fut conclu que son excellence feroit sans delaye, estant déjà pres de cinq heures du soir, avancer la gauche, et quand Monsieur de Mackay la jugeroit aussi pres des ennemis que la droite, il feroit attaquer de son costé toutes les hayes ou les ennemis se trouvoient logés, agissant ensuite selon que luy et les autres officiers generaux trouveroient la commodité du terrain, qu'ils ne pouvoient pas encore juger de si pres. Cependant, comme il est dit dessus l'on fit sonder le marais pour pouvoir passer quatre à cinq regiments à gauche des quatre qu'on destinoit contre le chateau et les hayes, qui l'y trouvoient à droite et à gauche en attendant que nostre gauche fut portée ; faisant cependant reposer les troupes, et trouvant vers les sept heures les nostres de la gauche avancés à telle distance qu'il le jugeroit tems de faire mouvoir de son costé, il commanda aux regiments des Colonels Earle, Bruer, Herbert et Crighton de passer le marais à l'endroit qu'il avoit peu auparavant fait reconnoître, et sur la gauche, avec ordre expres et bien expliqué de l'arrester aux hayes au sortir du marais apres qu'ils s'en seroient rendus maîtres jusqu'à son ordre, ou qu'ils vissent gagner sur les ennemis vers leur droite, et quelques escadrons passer les défilés, et marcha luy-même avec le regiment de Kirck, Gustavus Hamilton, chassant les ennemis des premieres et secondes hayes devant, aussi bien qu'à droit et gauche du chateau, ou il les fit arrester, cherchant, en meme tems, passage pour la cavallerie, que Monsieur de Ruvignie fit avancer derriere l'infanterie. Dans ce tems-ci les regiments sus nommés qui avoient ordre de l'arrester de meme aux hayes sur la gauche, oublians leur ordre en ayant chassés les ennemis, les poursuivent au dela des hayes, ou les ennemis les prenant de front, aussi bien qu'en flanc par plusieurs escadrons et bataillons qui les renverserent, aussi bien que la seconde brigade de la droite, que le Prince de Hesse tira de son poste par je ne scay pas quel ordre, les faisant passer le marais encore plus vers nostre gauche, si bien que si les quatre regiments

qu'on avoit postés a l'entour du chateau n'avoient pas tenue fermes nostre droite selon toutes les apparences humaines auroit esté defaite, et consequemment la bataille perdue, parcequ'a la veue de ce desordre plusieurs regiments de nostre aisle gauche commencerent a ploier. Le General-Major Mackay aiant remarqué le meschant estat des affaires la, crut que s'il pouvoit faire passer quelques escadrons de cavallerie, il y auroit encore esperance, pria instamment les officiers qui se trouvoient a la teste des premiers de passer le mieux qu'ils pouroient pour flancer ces ennemis qui repoussoit nostre infanterie, la menant battant jusques dans le marais, leur representant l'interest de la religion, l'honneur, et la liberté des Anglois, et enfin tout ce qu'il crut les y devoir pousser, trouvant qu'a cause de la difficulté du passage, et la veue des troupes deja defaite, la cavallerie au commencement sembloit un peu estonné ; mais non pas toute egalement, car le regiment d'Oxford fraiant le chemin passa premiere-ment puis ceux de Vilars et de Levifon avec lequel il se trouva, que le Marquis de Ruvignie passant fut d'abord engagé par les escadrons ennemis qui avoient repoussé nostre infanterie, lesquels aussy bien que leur infanterie l'arrestans tout court a la veue du passage de nostre cavallerie, craignant d'en estre flanqué, la vinrent attaquer avant quelle fut encore bien formée de l'autre costé du defilé, et repoussèrent les premiers passés ; mais comme on en faisoit sans cesse passer a la filé, il y eut a la main pour les soutenir. Cependant Monsieur de Mackay, apprehendant que les ennemis ne leur tombassent trop fort sur les bras, commanda a un certain lieutenant-colonel de passer avec son escadron plus pres de chateau, ou il n'y avoit plus de feu a effuier que la ou il en faisoit passer les autres. Le defilé estant hors du coup de tout le feu de chateau, de la basse court, et de jardinage, lequel luy respondit, s'il vouloit qu'il passât par la qu'il lui montrat le chemin. Monsieur, dit le dit Monsieur de Mackay, vous vous meprenéz fort, car vous ne scaurez ignorer jusques icy, que j'ay le soin general de toute cette attaque, en forte que je ne puis pas me trouver a la teste de chaque bataillon et escadron ; mais pour vous faire voir que j'ose montrer le chemin, partout ou je commande des troupes, (se pouffant

a la teste de l'escadron,) dit, suivez moy donc ; et voulant sauter le fossé, ou estang suffist qui n'estoit pas fort large, son cheval s'embourba du costé des ennemis, et l'escadron se retirant sans l'arrester pour favoriser sa retraite, le laissa seul avec son esquier, qui le remontant, il faut a le fossé du costé de ses gens sans estre touché d'une grele de mousquetades que cette accident a cinquante pas du chateau lui attira. Les ennemis l'ayant reconnu pour un officier de commandement, de la il se transporta au premier defilé et passant a la teste de Woufly, rencontra justement un escadron ennemy a la monté de la hauteur ou les ennemis avoient au commencement de la bataille defeat nostre infanterie, qui pouffoit de nostre cavallerie a toute bride, il dit a Woufly de marcher au pas et ferré et de defendre a ses cavalliers de donner du feu ; mais d'attaquer cette ennemy l'espée a la main, crainte de se metre en confusion, ce que les ennemis aiant aperçu tournerent teste tout court. Il loua la froideur et fermeté de Woufly en cette endroit, et aiant fait signe au corps que les ennemis menoient battant de se rallier derriere Woufly, il l'avança vers la hauteur du camp ennemy, avec trois a quatre escadrons qu'il eut autour de luy. Monsieur de Ruvignie avec deux a trois des premieres passes estant un peu plus avancé, il ne faut pas oublier qu'au premier passage de nostre cavallerie, qui arresta les troupes ennemis qui poursuivoient nostre infanterie jusques dans le marais, celle-ci ne se trouvant plus poussé se rallie au milieu de dit marais, et vint reprendre son poste d'ou elle estoit chassée, et puis trouvant les ennemis repouffés par nostre cavallerie, gaigna les hauteurs avec elle, comme aussy firent les regiments de Bellafis et de Lord George Hamilton, ou le dit brigadier et Lord se trouvoient a la teste. Cependant ceux de Kirck et de Gustavus Hamilton qui se trouverent engagés plus vers la droite, aiant tout le temps de ce costé la couvert la cavallerie, (car ils furent postés a la droite de tous a cause des marais), aiants rencontrés des murailles d'un jardin, ne pouvoient faire que maintenir leur poste en faisant feu continué sur les ennemis du chateau, qui nous servit de bon usage au passage de la cavallerie, parce que leur feu tenoit les ennemis si courts que non obstant leur grand feu,

ils ne nous tuerent pas grande nombre a cette endroit ; mais les ennemis qui furent posté dans, et a lentour du chateau ne se voyans plus en teste que le dits deux corps sortirent de leur poste pour les pousser, et effectivement les auroient mal menés, si Monsieur de Schravemoer, qui avoit encore autour de luy quelques escadrons de cavallerie et dragons frais, n'en eut envoyé a leur secours, dont les ennemis furent renversés la, et aussy le chateau pris.

Pendant que ces choses se passioient de la maniere susdite a la droite, le General, qui se trouvoit a la gauche avec le Duc de Virtemberg, et les Generaux-Majors Tetau, Laforest, et Holtzapel, a cause que la plus grande force de l'armée, surtout en cavallerie, fut arrêté ou jetté de ce costé la par les raisons susdites, voyant que les commencements de cette action ne lui promettoient pas de grands avantages, a cause que non seulement la plus grande partie de l'infanterie de la droite, mais aussy quelques bataillons de la gauche avoyent ployés ; ayant fait soutenir son infanterie par de la cavallerie s'en contentant, pour encore ne voulut jamais permettre que sa cavallerie poussant trop avant les ennemis, quelle avoit en teste que premierement ne fut averty, comme les affaires alloient a la droite, dont il n'avoit pas le veue, et y entendoit grand feu, de peur quelle ne fut flanqué des troupes ennemis qui avoient repoussées notre infanterie au commencement de la bataille ; si bien que quand nostre droite fut deja avancée sur les hauteurs apres en avoir fait retirer les ennemis, les prennant toujours pour les ennemis s'arresta comme dit est, jusqu'a ce que ceux si appercevans que nostre droite s'avançoit pour les prendre en flanc, commencerent a branler, et le General estant a même instant averty de l'avantage de ses troupes a la droite, fit donner sur celle des ennemis qui se trouvoit devant lui, ce cy arrivant justement comme le General Major Mackay s'estoit avancé sur les hauteurs, d'ou aiant reconnu le desordre des ennemis partout, il s'avancea avec ce qu'il avoit autour de lui pour leur couper la retraite ; ce qui la leur fit precipiter, leur infanterie se jettant autant quelle pouvoit dans les marais, et leur cavallerie suivant le chemin de Lochreagh. Dans ce tems ci beaucoup de

nos escadrons de la gauche l'estans debandés, firent main basse sur l'infanterie des ennemis avant quelle pût gagner les marais, et effectivement le carnage fut plus de ce côté là qu'à la droite, quoy que le gain de la bataille fut indubitablement deu a celle ci non obstant la difficulté de l'attaque de ce côté là, qui sembloit infurmountable ; mais surtout le faut il reconnoitre uniquement de la benediction de Dieu, qui osta le cour et l'esprit a nos ennemis, a quoi la mort de leur General, avant qu'on en fut aux mains par un heureux coup de la batterie de la droite contribua beaucoup. Le General Major Mackay se trouvant plus a portée pour la poursuite de la cavallerie ennemie que la gauche la chassa jusqu'à quatre miles du champ de bataille ; mais comme il faisoit deja tard, estant pres de sept heures avant que le combat commença, et manquant des guides pour les bien mener dans un pais si plain des marais, il n'osoit pas debander beaucoup de sa cavallerie n'en aiant avec lui que peu d'escadrons au commencement de la poursuite, quoy qu'elle grossissoit a mesure qu'on avançoit. Le lendemain le General fit venir tout le bagage de l'armée, et campa a une mile du champ du bataille sur le chemin de Lochreagh, ou il resta trois jours pour faire occuper les chateaux et passages de Banaker, et Presumay [Portunna] les ennemis ayant quitté le dernier, et rendu l'autre au destachement qu'on y envoya, et pour attendre un convoie de quelques jours de vivres.

De ce dernier camp aiant envoyé reconnoitre Lochreagh, et appris que les desbris des troupes ennemis avoient pris le chemin de Limerick, l'on marcha vers la dite villette sans avoir encore fixé aucune resolution, et de la le lendemain a Athenicée [Athenry], a sept mile de Galway, et sur le grand chemin d'Athlone a la dite place, ou il y avoit beaucoup de fourage. Le soir, il fut conclu qu'on laisseroit la cavallerie campé pres d'Athlone, et qu'on marcheroit a Galway avec l'infanterie et douze escadrons de cavallerie et dragons seulement ; mais un certain officier general, qui ne se trouvoit pas presant a ce conseil, aiant demandé au General l'estat des vivres, il respondit qu'il n'y en avoit que pour quatre jours a l'armée ; l'autre demanda, et s'il arrivoit que la place ne se rend pas, comme on

vous fait esperer, et que les ennemis vous scachant engagé au siege, vinssent avec tout ce qu'ils pourroient assembler vous couper vos vivres, qu'il faut supposer beaucoup superieurs au corps de cavallerie que vous laissez a Schravemoer n'ayant guere perdue de la leur, ne vous faudroit il pas lever le siege pour venir au devant de vos vivres, afin de ne pas crever vos troupes de faim, et en tout cas que gagnerez vous, puisqu'il faut avoir votre grosse artillerie, qu'il faut attendre, aussi bien que le pain d'Athlone, avant que vous puissiez presser le siege de Galway? Cela fit resoudre, au General la marche ayant été ordonné pour les cinque heurs du matin, de faire assembler les generaux derechef a quatre heurs pour metre l'affaire qui sembloit de la derniere importance encore en deliberation ; mais quoy qu'on pût alleguer au contraire l'avis de marcher devant Galway fut suivy, dont on se repentit avant qu'il fut dix heures du soir, sur l'avis que le General eut de la ville, qu'il y avoit dix-huit regimens de dans, lesquels, quoy qu'on les crût fort affoiblis par la bataille, pour la plupart l'on jugea toutes fois trop contre dix milles fantassins que nous nous jugions alors forts, la dessus comme l'on se blama l'un l'autre pour avoir precipité cette marche, la providance de Dieu nous esclairoit de la verité par un capitain qui se vint randre d'une ouvrage qui estoit sur une hauteur a la portée du mousquet de la place, dont elle est aucunement commandée, de ce costé la, lequell nous assura qu'il n'y avoit que 1500 hommes armés dans la place ; mais qu'ils attendoient qu'un certain Colonel O'Donel leur meneroit du secours par

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LETTRES OU DEPECHEES ECRITES PAR MON-  
SIEUR HUGH DE MACKAY, LIEUTENANT  
GENERAL, A SA MAJESTE BRITANIQUE, ET  
AU COMTE DE PORTLAND, LORSQU'IL COM-  
MANDOIT EN CHEF LES TROUPES DE SA  
DITE MAJESTE EN ECOSSE.

M.DC.XC.



LETTRES ECRITES PAR LE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DE  
MACKAY, AU ROY GUILHEAUME III. ET AU MY-LORD  
DE PORTLAND.

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Au Roy, du 14 Janvier 1690, d'Ecosse.

SIRE,—J'espere que vostre Majesté pardonnera les fortes expressions de mes lettres a Monsieur le Comte de Portland, et par son absence tombés entre ses mains royales, étant purement l'effet de mon zele pour son service que j'aprehendois par trop negligé icy. Selon l'ordre de votre Majesté, j'ai lui envoyé les particularités sur lesquelles je juge qu'il seroit de besoin d'avoir ses instructions marchant contre ces rebelles, avec des considerations, selon mon jugement, de la maniere que l'on s'y devoit conduire. Des difficultés qu'on y pourra rencontrer, et des moyenes pour remedier aux inconveniens qu'un mauvais succes pourroit causer a son service, comme aussi une liste des armes, munitions et autres materiaux absolument requis pour ce service, et dont nous ne pourrons pas estre pourveu icy, car d'entreprendre a demie, et sans les preparatives necessaires seroit de reculer au lieu d'avancer son service. Si vostre Majesté aprouve qu'on tente une descente par mer a Inderlochy, comme la seule maniere practicable d'entreprendre la reduction des rebelles de bonne heure selon mon jugement, je ne manqueray pas d'y apporter toute la diligence et le soin possible, esperant que Dieu m'y supportera, et

achevera d'apaifer les troubles de ce pais ingrat a tant de bien faits envoyes du ciel par l'oportune deliverance que votre Majesté lui aporta, sous son heureux gouvernement, par mes foibles bien que sinceres efforts. Sire, je me sens obligé de représenter a vostre Majesté les grandes confusions de ce royaume, surtout quant a l'Eglise, les ministres qu'on a . . . . . preschans partout la rebellion impunement, et les autres ne scachans pas encore ou ils en sont, si bien que je puis dire de ma propre connoissance que nous y avons deux ennemis au lieu d'un qu'il y en avoit quand j'y arrivay l'année passée, de sorte qu'il n'y a que l'aprehension des troupes telles quelles sont qui les tiennent en bride jusqu'icy, lesquels sans un suplement du Parleament ne scauront subsister long tems en nombre capables de tenir le royaume en paix, et y maintenir l'autorité de vostre Majesté. L'on espere que beaucoup des membres du dit corp éclaircis de la verité par la publication de ses instructions changeront de conduite pour la suivante session, car effectivement vostre Majesté y retablit tout d'un coup ce dont la subversion a coûté des siecles. L'establissement d'un moderé gouvernement d'Eglise apporteroit aparamment beaucoup de remede aux desordres, les ministres aiant beaucoup d'influence d'ordinaire sur l'esprit du peuple. Sire, comme je suis persuadé que vostre Majesté auroit juste sujet de me blamer si je lui dissimulois mes sentiments sur ce que je crois avoir peu remarqué de ce pais, ou j'ay passée tantost dix mois dans des embarras qui m'auroient pu apprendre quelque chose de l'humeur de ses habitans. L'on ne scauroit a mon avis remedier aux desordres d'Ecosse que par une armée bien payée, et capable d'estonner les factieux et cabalistes de toute sorte, ou par le moyen d'un Parleament qui etablir sans delay le gouvernement tant civil que ecclesiastique, lequel, avec un peu de bon succes contre les Montaignards, acheveroit, selon mon jugement, d'y retablir une paix durable, surtout pourveu que les affaires aillent bien en Irlande, comme j'espere que nous avons sujet d'attendre pour la prochaine campagne, et laisseroit la liberté a votre Majesté d'employer son argent et la plus part de ses troupes quelle y employe plus utilement ailleurs. Priant affectueusement que Dieu comble de ces plus

pretieuses benedictions la personne sacrée et le reign de vostre Majesté, et demandant tres-humble pardon de cette liberté, je suis, de votre Majesté, &c.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, du 13 Mars 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MILORD, Dans l'attente de vostre heureux retour aupres de sa Majesté et participation d'un paquet volant qu'une comité avoit envoyé pour faire entendre a sa Majesté leurs sentimens sur des propositions que je leurs avoit fait sur le sujet de la maniere que je jugeois la plus effectuelle pour dompter les rebelles, et en meme tems, selon mon jugement, retablir la paix en ce pauvre pais, pour puis apres laisser a sa Majesté la liberté d'employer ailleurs les troupes foldoyées d'Angleterre. Vous sçavez, Milord, qu'avant vostre passage en Hollande, vous m'escrivites que le Roy avoit ordonné que se preparast trois fregates pour le service de ce pais cy, je voudrois quelles fussent deja ici, car j'ay peur que les Montaignards ne nous previennent en tombant sur le plat pais en plus grand nombre qu'aucun des postes vers le nord, et ne m'obligent de tourner teste de ce costé la, avant que nous puissions envoyer ces fregates sur leurs costes pour faire diversion jusqu'a ce que nous soyons prêts d'y marcher avec le corps que je dessein de mener a Inderlochy selon le projet que j'ay envoyée au Roy il y a long tems, et crains que le manque d'une petite somme d'argent, dont la suddite comité escrivit a sa Majesté ne renverse ce dessein, au moins ne le retarde trop long tems. Il est vray semblable, Milord, que si les affaires vont bien et a souhait en Irelande que cette rebellion cy tombera d'elle mesme ; mais j'espere qu'on m'accordera qu'on ne doive jamais laisser les operations de la guerre dans des differantes provinces tellement dependre les uns des autres, que de n'en pas assurer le plutot le plus qu'on peut, pour que le vainqueur pust en tous cas accourir au secours des autres de son parti, suivant la maniere des combats particulieres. Comme je marquay dans ma precedante, la

homme qu'on demande pour faciliter ce projet ne fait guere plus d'un demi mois de gage aux troupes que le Roy soldoye ici d'Angleterre. Jugéz donc, Monsieur, combien en profiteroit sa Majesté pour le reste de la campagne, si on lui pouvoit rendre ce pais-cy paisible avant le my May, en sorte qu'il n'y faudroit que peu de monde. J'ay aussi marqué qu'on ne peut tirer en feureté les quatre regimens destinés pour la service d'Irlande d'icy, qu'on n'ait entrepris ce dessein, car les autres endroits du pais seroient trop exposés pendant l'eloignement du susdit corps, car il se fait voir beaucoup de gens suspects qui se pourvoient de cheveaux et des armes sous main, en sorte que, selon mon avis, l'on devroit prendre des mesures comme si l'on apprehendoit un soulèvement dans des differans quartiers tant de ce royaume que du nord d'Angleterre, ce qui fust cause que j'escrivis au Roy, non seulement de ne point tirer d'icy encore des troupes qui s'y trouvent, mais aussi d'envoyer sur les frontieres des deux royaumes quelque cavallerie et des dragons, car un peu de prevoyance previent souvent des maux assez difficiles a remedier si l'on s'en laissoit surprendre a l'improviste. Je ne doute pas que bien de gens ne se messent de donner des avis a sa Majesté des affaires de ce pais-cy ; mais je suis persuadé que personne ne lui en pourra donner des moins partiels que moy, et je laisse a elle de juger si je ne puis pretendre d'entendre un peu du mestier, dont j'ay fait si longue profession dans les plus aggueries nations de l'Europe, au moins a l'egale de tout ce quelle peut en tirer d'icy, et pour ceux qui n'y ont pas esté, ils ne scauront se représenter les choses au vray. Je vous prie, Milord, de respondre au plustost sur toutes ces particuliarités, la saison étant déjà trop avancée pour un plus long delay, et de conserver dans l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, Mi-Lord, &c.

Lettre écrite au Roy, le 9 Avril 1690.

SIRE, Comme j'aprehendois par la lenteur surprenante que je voyois apporter a tout ce qui regardoit la feureté de vostre service dans ce royaume,

que les rebelles ne nous previnssent et rompiissent toutes nos mesures, aussy n'ay-je menqué d'en souvent avertir vostre Majesté aussy bien que des autres qui ont l'honneur d'approcher la personne royale, ce qu'a juger bien de mes circonstances estoit tout ce dont j'estois capable. Je trouve a presant que mes apprehensions n'estoient pas des chimeres, car ils sont deja au camp, et Dieu scait a quelle confusion ce pais-cy se pourra reduire dans l'humeur dont ses habitans se trouvent par la pauvreté de ses finances, l'estat miserable des troupes, les divisions qui l'y voyent mesme au conseil de votre Majesté, joint a l'impuissance ou je me vois d'y apporter aucun remede, n'estant pas capable d'entretenir un fort mediocre corps des troupes ensemble pour trois jours sans courir risque de m'en voir abandonné faute de quoy subsister, outre que les troupes se trouvent necessairement (si l'on ne vouloit abandonner la moitié du royaume aux rebelles) si separées qu'on ne peut pas assembler un corps bien formidable nulle part, joint qu'on ne pouvoit autrement faire subsister, menquent d'argent tantôt six mois. Milord Commissionnaire en veut tant icy a l'entour d'Edinbourg, que j'aprehende qu'il ne m'en donnera qu'un fort petit partie pour opposer aux ennemis, s'ils tournent teste vers la partie meridionale du royaume. J'espere que Levinston et Buchan seront capables de maintenir leurs postes, quoy que je ne m'en puis pas prometre, qu'ils seront tellement maîtres de la campagne, que beaucoup de mal affectionnés ne joignent les rebelles. Mon avis est, Sire, que vostre Majesté ordonne sans delay quelques uns des regimens de cavallerie qui doivent passer en Irlande de s'avancer quelques vingt miles de ce costé des frontieres, pour d'abord jeter la terreur dans toutes les provinces mal affectionnés; ce mouvement ne les éloignera pas de leur chemin, et pourra en tout cas estre de bon effet, pour fortifier les bons, et terrifier les mauvais; il seroit aussy tres necessaire que vostre Majesté ordonnassent le payement de nos trois regimens, sans lequel ils se differont sans aucun doute dans peu de temps, et ne seront nullement capables de service pour le presant besoin. Sire, je vous supplie tres-humblement de vouloir penser que ce pais icy tombant en desordre pourra apporter bien d'obstacle a vos glorieux

deffins ailleurs, et avoir des facheufes influences fur l'Angleterre, c'eft pourquoy l'on ne devoit plus a mon avis marchander d'elloigner du miniftre quelque peu de perfonnes, aufquels le peuple en veut, pour pouvoir fe promettre un heureux accord parmi les membres du Parlement, leurs divifions eft ce feul qui encourage les rebels, et les fait afsembler fitôt, de peur qu'ils ne perdent l'occafion qui l'en prefante pour troubler tellement le gouvernement que la feflion du Parlement foit interrompue. Mon jugement, Sire, n'eft pas fort penetrant, mais je crois avoir averti des defordres que je me figure fans un prompt remede il y a cinq mois, ce qui m'a fait aufly prendre la liberté d'offrir mon avis a voftre Majefté, peut-estre plus librement qu'une perfonne plus foigneufe de fon intereft particulier et moins de fervice de voftre Majefté n'aura pas ofé faire, pour ne pas l'expofer aux refentimens des offencés par cette liberté. Il y a quelques jours que Milord Braidalbin eft forti de ville, et je ne fcaurois mefine m'empêcher de fufpecter qu'il n'ait donnée le branle a ce mouvement precipité de ces rebelles, fes proches voifins et bons amis, et j'ay bien remarqué que l'advocat general eft des amis du dit Milord ; mais s'il eft d'intrigue, je n'en fçay rien, feulemment j'ay appris de ne faire pas grand eftat fur l'exterieur de la plupart des Ecoffois d'aujourd'hui, comme j'ay mandé il y a peu des jours a Milord Portland. Si le quartier de weft d'Ecoffe eftoit contente quant au culte d'Eglife, j'aurois moins d'apprehention de tous les efforts de ces barbares. Le Duc de Hamilton demeure fur ces terres, comme aufly quelques autres des feigneurs mefcontents depuis quelques jours il y a grand quantité de ceux qu'on appelle Jacobins venu d'Angleterre depuis peu, de forte que je me figure des revoltes en plufieurs endroits du royaume fi l'on n'envoye promptement quelque cavallerie, comme j'ay touché deffus. Je prie Dieu de vouloir prefider a toutes les deliberations de voftre Majefté, et de ceux quelle employe aux maniemens de fes affaires, et de prendre fa sacrée perfonne et la conduite de tous fes deffins pour l'avancement de fa gloire, et foustient de fa verité falutaire a tous croyans en fa divine protection, qui feront toufjours les prieres, Sire, de voftre Majefté, &c.

Lettre au Roy envoyée d'Edinbourg, le 23 Avril 1690.

SIRE, Comme je n'ay point d'ordre au contraire de vostre Majesté, et que je suis absolument persuadé qu'il n'y a rien a gagner sur les rebelles et mutins de cette nation par la douceur et clemance, mais que le veritable moyen de les ranger a la raison est qu'on les pousse vigoureusement, j'ay formées les instructions dont j'envoye cy-jointe une copie pour l'officier qui doit commander le parti que je destache avec les fregates. Milord Commiffionaire, auquel je les ay montreés, est d'opinion, par je ne scay pas quel avis, qu'on deyroit surfoir tout acte d'hostilité pour quelque temps. Je luy ay représenté que se seroit justement complimenter nos ennemis au despens du service de vostre Majesté, lesquels ne demandent mieux que de gagner du temps, soit pour attendre l'effect des secours qu'on leur fait esperer du costé de France ou d'Irlande, soit qu'ils esperent qu'on transportera tant des troupes en Irlande, que les ennemis de son gouvernement trouve le temps opportun pour le lui troubler d'avantage en leur faveur pendant son absence, et comme l'on me dit que cette avis se trouvent du gout de Milord Braidalbin, je le tiens d'autant plus suspect. J'auray sujet legitime, Sire, de me taire de tout ce cy, voyant qu'on traite avec ces gens la, (dont je connois mieux le temparement qu'aucun de ceux auxquels vostre Majesté se puisse fier), sans m'en rien communiquer, dont une personne se reposant moins sur la bonne conscience, en tout ce qui releve de sa charge seroit capable de s'allarmer, y trouvant sujet d'apprehender que son maitre ne se deffiat de sa conduite ; mais comme j'agis graces a Dieu par des principes bien au dessus de toute veue mondaine, rien ne scauroit tellement atieder mon zelle que de negliger la moindre circonstance que je juge devoir contribuer a l'avancement du service, ou des regards particuliers et propres a moy n'ont jamais eu de part a m'engager. C'est pourquoy, Sire, je ne me lasseray pas tant que vostre Majesté ne me le defende de lui dire et redire ce qu'en sincerité, et comme en la presence de Dieu, selon mon

jugement, je pense de l'estat de ses affaires dans ce pais. J'ay peur, Sire, que nos trois regimens ne tombent dans les mesmes desordres des troupes foldoyées dans ce royaume sans un prompt secours d'argent ce qui romproit bien d'avantage nos mesures. Si vostre Majesté aura trouvé bon d'ordonner quelque cavallerie sur les deux frontieres des deux royaumes, il seroit apropos quelle eut ordre de suivre les instructions que je pourray avoir occasion de leur envoyer, et je prens la liberté de representer avec toute submision que des troupes que vostre Majesté auroit dessein de laisser en Angleterre une bonne partie en soit logée sur les dites frontieres, comme l'endroit des deux royaumes le plus dangereux. Le grand dominateur des royaumes des hommes affermissé celuy de vostre Majesté sur des colomnes inesbranlables, qui fera toufjours le fidelle souhait de celluy qui est, Sire, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, le 16 Avril 1690, d'Edinbourg.

SIRE, Je vous envoye cy jointe a plus pres la sistance de ce qui se passa entre le Major Ferguson du regiment de Laudre, personne de probité et d'honneur, comme aussi fidele et affectionné au service de vostre Majesté, et les autres personnes nommées dans l'information que j'en ay prise de la bouche du dit Ferguson. La raison que ces Messieurs l'avoyent accosté de tels propos estoit apparemment parcequ'il fut destiné pour commander en chef le party qu'on destacha avec les fregates pour faire diversion. Ces deux partis, Sire, des Jacobins et cabalistes qui furent si contraires l'année passée, paroissent si unis a presant pour s'opposer a tout ce que je propose du service de vostre Majesté qu'il faudroit estre bien aveugle pour ne pas l'appercevoir qu'ils couvrent quelque mechant dessein qui pourra bientost esclater. Je souhaiterois volontiers que ce soit avant le passage de vostre Majesté avec tout le choix des troupes en Irelande, comme l'on le desbitté icy, quoy que je ne scaurois ajouter entier foi ; me representant le danger qu'il l'y rencontre. J'espere que Dieu preside

a tous ses conseils, mais l'histoire de tout le pays, sans exempter l'Angleterre même aux expéditions d'Irlande, nous en font foy ; et je suis persuadée, comme aussi les ennemis de son gouvernement l'ont déclaré dans leur conversation avec Ferguson, qu'ils croient que ce ne fut plutôt une feinte qu'une résolution arrêtée de votre Majesté tant ils en souhaitent la vérité. J'ay pris la liberté d'en dire mon jugement il y a quelque temps à votre Majesté, comme aussi depuis quelques jours au Comte de Marleborough avant que j'avois rien appris de même de ces Herodes et Pilates, qui, d'une haine qu'on croyoit irreconciliable, se sont accordés pour persécuter notre sauveur, si non en sa personne glorifiée au moins en l'œuvre de la délivrance de son Eglise commencée du ciel par les travaux et soins infatigables de votre Majesté. Je continue, Sire, dans l'opinion qu'on devroit commander au plutôt quelque cavalerie de ce côté des frontières des deux royaumes, quelque résolution que votre Majesté prenne le mouvement ne les éloignera guere du lieu d'embarquement, cependant l'on verra quel tour le Parlement prendra. Le grand Dieu premier et principal auteur de cet heureux changement garde sa personne sacrée de tous les desseins de ses ennemis et conduit ses hautes entreprises à la gloire de son grand nom et à l'immortelle louange du regne de votre Majesté que seront toujours les prières, Sire, de votre Majesté le tres-humble, tres-obeissant, tres-fidelle Sujet et Serviteur, &c.

SIRE, Il y a deux jours qu'ayant rendu visite au Comte d'Arran, si rencontray le Milord Annandel et Ros, puis apres le Duc de Queensberry y vint. Sortant de la, le dit Comte me conduisit à sa porte, et m'assura de son estime ; je lui repondis que j'estois fort de ses serviteurs, parceque j'esperois de le voir encore bien en faveur aupres de votre Majesté. La dessus il commença à m'assurer qu'il avoit eu beaucoup d'inclination d'aller servir en Hollande sous votre Majesté ; mais qu'il n'en put jamais obtenir liberté du Roy Charles, et que se trouvant engagé au Roy Jacques, jusqu'à la fin, il ne pouvoit se résoudre de l'abandonner

a son besoin, mais si jamais il lui arrivoit de promettre fidélité a vostre Majesté il mouriroit plustot que de la lui fausser. Je croy qu'il ne feroit pas mal aisé de l'engager a presant moyenant quelque honeste pension, car son pere le tient court. Je crois effectivement qu'il a beaucoup d'honneur bien plus que beaucoup d'autres qui jurent fidelité a vostre Majesté, afin de mieux traher son service; mais si vostre Majesté fut d'opinion qu'on l'essayat, il faudroit que son commillionaire en eut l'ordre au plustost pour prevenir les pratiques de ceux qui sans doute travaillent a l'attirer dans leur party et mechans desseins. Je trouve le Comte de Drumlenrig fort cordial et ouvert pour l'intérêt de votre Majesté; les deux jeunes seigneurs esclipseroient fort tout le credit et la dependance de leurs peres mal satisfaits.

Lettre écrite au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 9 Avril 1690.

MONSIEUR, J'ay écrit si amplement au Roy, que je n'ay qu'a vous prier de vouloir faire de sorte que sa Majesté prenne des promptes résolutions pour ce qui regard la seurreté de son service icy, et quoy que, Monsieur, nous ayons a faire avec un ennemy lequel, moyenant des bonnes mesures seroit meprisable, dans l'estat miserable ou les affaires se trouvent dans ce royaume a presant, il nous pourroit causer des facheries et de diversions au dessein de sa Majesté ailleurs, si l'on n'y met ordre de bonne heure. Si l'on m'avoit voulu croire nous n'aurions pas esté tant embarrassés de ces gens-la, car je m'estois proposé avant ce temps-cy, d'estre en marche vers eux, mais l'on a tant negligé l'intérêt du Roy, comme s'il n'estoit de nulle consequence de lui perdre l'Ecosse. Je confesse franchement si elle estoit située bien loin de l'Angleterre qu'elle ne meritroit pas qu'on y songeât beaucoup; mais de la maniere que les affaires se trouvent ces desordres en pourroient inspirer a ses voisins. Non seulement les troupes soldoyées en Ecosse ne sont pas capables de subsister deux fois vingt-quatre heures en corps, mais aussy nos trois

regimens qui font au troisieme mois qu'ils n'ont reçu d'argent qu'un peu de credit, que nous avons fait tant que les gens estoient dans l'esperance d'estre payés de jour a autre, mais a presant voyans que l'argent tarde a venir c'en est fait, je trouve estrange qu'on en fait tenir tous les mois a Levinston et Leslie et a nous point. Si le Roy, outre notre payement courant, pouvoit se refoudre d'envoyer quelque somme d'argent a Milord Commiffionaire pour suppleer au besoin, il pourroit contribuer a son service d'avantage que vingt fois autant une autre fois, ce n'est pas, Monsieur, que je n'aye remarqué suffisamment combien je suis negligé depuis que le Roy m'a engagé dans une si facheuse commiffion que je m'en fay, mais parceque grace a Dieu je renonce volontiers a toutes confiderations miennes, pourveu qu'on veuille songer un peu au service mon regret est (comme vous scavez, Monsieur, que je m'en suis fort souvent plaint) que ceux que le Roy employe ont trop d'egard a l'establissement de leurs familles, ce qui me fait suspecter qu'il y en a qui tirent a deux butes ; car a quoy faire tant d'empressement de faire nostre fortune dans un pais, ou l'on n'a pas encore bien assurée l'interêt qui nous la doit assurer. Le torrent est rapide et grand parmi toutes fortes des gens contre le President de la Session et son fils, mais plus contre le fils que le pere. Je croy que leur esloignement du ministere, contenteroit bien du monde. Il n'y a que mon zelle pour cett interest qui seroit capable de me faire jamais ouvrir la bouche d'avantage pour me mesler a donner des advis, mais ce principe qui des le commencement m'a fait uniquement engager dans cette querelle mespris qu'on tesmoigne pour moy et mes conseils ne me permet pas de me faire quelque resolution contraire que j'aye pris. Dieu est mon tesmoin que je suis fort indifferant quant a mon particulier qu'ils soyent les ministres, en sorte que je ne tacherois de metre le moindre de ses sujets mal dans l'esprit du Roy justement, pour tout l'avantage que je me pourrois jamais proposer de mes services, mais comme je renonce volontiers a tout interêt mien pour avancer le service d'un esprit degagé de tout autre soin que de mon salut et de celluy la, il me semble qu'il n'y a point de crime que j'en agisse de mesme a l'endroit

des autres toutes fois que je trouve leur intérêt traverser celluy du bien public. Ce ne feroit que des redites inutiles que de vous écrire les memes choses que j'ay écrites au Roy, en sorte, Monsieur, que je vous prie seulement de vous vouloir représenter dans l'esprit l'embarras ou je me trouve à fin d'influer que sa Majesté despeche au plus viste ses ordres pour prevenir le mal ; lequel autrement en pourra attirer d'autres plus facheux. Sachez, Monsieur, que je ne pourray marcher un pas avec nos troupes sans permettre le pillage et toute sorte des desordres, qui est si contraire à mon humeur, que j'aimerois mieux n'avoir jamais fait le metier, que de commander des troupes qui ne puissent subsister que par le crime. Je vous prie donc, Monsieur, d'y songer, car effectivement quand mesme le Parlement donneroit à present de l'argent, l'on n'en pourra pas survenir à la necessité presente et toute pressante du service. Si la resolution se pouvoit prendre d'en envoyer d'Angleterre pour espargner vingt fois autant qu'il pourra couter au Roy, avant que les desordres se pourroient redresser, que la pauvreté presente nous pourra causer, le meilleur expediant seroit de parler avec un certain James Foulès, banquier Ecoffois à Londres, qui trouveroit le moyen d'en faire tenir icy au plustost, je vous en recommande derechef la serieuse consideration, comme l'opinion, Monsieur, de vostre tres-humble, &c.

Lettre écrite au Roy, le 14 May 1690.

SIRE, La necessité pressante du service m'oblige de m'adresser derechef à vostre Majesté, afin de n'avoir rien à me reprocher, si apres tant de soyn et de sollicitude jusqu'à me priver du repos necessaire pour le support de la nature, il se trouve que le service ne l'avance pas selon que je me le suis proposé, et que naturellement l'on en pourroit attendre si tous nos desseins, manque de moyens necessaires de les executer, ne s'etouffoient dans la naissance.

Vostre Majesté ordonna l'envoye de 4000 livres sterling pour subvenir aux fraix du dessein d'Inderlochy ; mais Milord Commissinaire, qui ne

peut pas résister aux plaintes continuelles des troupes, leur en a fait distribuer une bonne partie déjà. Les trois régimens Hollandois, dont j'ay tiré le détachement qui doit agir par mer, et qui doivent faire la plus part de l'infanterie que je dessein de mener a Inderlochy, sont sans argent et credit. La farine que je demandois, il y a quelque temps qu'on la tient prête pour l'envoyer par mer d'abord que nos fregates feroient sur les costes ennemis pour l'affurer, ne l'est pas encore, quoy que les dittes fregates y soient, et ne scay pas pour quand que l'on l'y despatchera. Des biquits que j'ay ordonné pour la marche l'on ne m'en pourra pas fournir le quart, et des matériaux pour la construction d'un fort, et pour faire des casernes, il n'en est nulle nouvelle, et cela non obstant que je ne manque un jour de conseil que je ne propose ce qu'il est de besoin d'avoir pour pouvoir le proposer de passer le dessein de la réduction de ses rebelles, de sorte que vostre Majesté peut juger combien une personne qui ne le propose pour tout avantage que celluy du service (comme il en peut appeller en témoignage celluy aux yeux duquel rien ne demeure caché) qui n'est pas tout a fait si ignorant en son metier que de ne voir une grande facilité a venir a bout de cette rebellion. Si on ne luy tenoit les mains liées, combien, dis-je, une telle personne doit se chagriner qu'on la prive comme a dessein du contentement de pouvoir contribuer dans son poste a l'affermissement d'un regne qui doit produire tant d'avantage pour l'Europe protestante. Si bien, Sire, que je suis tenté a soupçonner qu'on ne retarde vostre service, de peur que je ne fusse l'instrument par lequel il fut avancé, et quoy que je ne puis pas facilement croire le commissionnaire coupable d'un dessein si peu consonnant a la profession de pieté qu'il fait, si ne puis-je non plus m'empêcher de suspecter Milord Tarbet, qui luy rend des visites de nuit, qui est mon ennemy déclaré, et dont la conscience est capable d'avaler des pillules de cette sorte. Et pour faire voir a vostre Majesté que ce n'est pas sans aucun sujet que je suspecte quelque dessein semblable, je trouve que Milord Commissionnaire ne pousse nullement les choses que je luy recommande pour l'avancement de mon dessein, témoin qu'il y a plus de six semaines que je le sollicite

d'establiir une personne propre pour exercer la charge de commissaire des vivres, quoy qu'il ne l'ait pas fait encore, et que c'est toufjours a refaire quand je lui propose quelque chose du service, si c'est par malice je ne l'en croy pas la source, mais, Sire, il a un fin compere qui le mene toutes fois malgré tout empeschement. Je ne suis nullement en payne de venir a bout de cette rebellion, pourveu qu'on nous defende des secours estrangers que nos ennemis attendent autant que jamais selon les avis d'aujourd'hui, ils recommencent a reprendre courage, d'autant qu'ils ne voyent pas que nous nous mettions en estat de poursuivre nostre dernier avantage, quoy que j'aye les troupes assembleés toutes prêtes a marcher, mais je fremis quand je pense aux difficultés que j'auray de les pouvoir faire subsister, et aux plaintes des soldats qui doivent necessairement patir par l'endroit du corp le plus sensible, scavoir, le ventre. Mais comme je ne scaurois plus long temps deférer la marche, si quelque inconvenient arrive au service de vostre Majesté de tous ces manques, j'attende de sa justice quelle ne me l'imputtera point, veu que je proteste en homme de bien que je me rend tellement esclave de la negligence et nonchalance d'autrui, (qui ne donnois le petit mot de toutes qui releve les dispositions militaires si je ne les y tenois quasi par force quelque fois), que nulle consideration m'y aura pu assujettir si long tems que celle d'un service, dont humainement semble dependre le bon heur temporel des Protestans. Je souhaiterois, Sire, que le regiment de Berklay fust en Ecoffe pour, avec d'autres troupes qu'on luy joindra sous Monsieur de Berklay, qui est une personne de bon jugement et de service, tenir en repos ce bout de royaume ; car vostre Majesté peut l'assurer que cette nation est dans un serment qui pourra produire d'estranges changements si l'on ne pourroit en laissant cette Isle bien assuré des forces affidées au service de vostre Majesté. Je suis plus en payne de nos regimens qu'ils ne desertent, a cause qu'ils n'ont pas esté acoustumés a manquer leur solde que des troupes Ecoffoises. Je demande tres-humblement pardon, Sire, de cette longue lettre, mais comme c'est le zelle pour le service de vostre Majesté qui me rend si impatient de voir les affaires de ce pais-cy tellement menées

a bon port que vostre Majesté eut les bras d'autant plus libres pour travailler a la delivrance de tant d'ames oppressees qui prient Dieu pour le succés de ses armes comme fera incessamment celluy qui fera toute sa vie, Sire, de vostre Majesté, &c.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, du 29 May 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MONSIEUR, Ce gouvernement fera capable de faire perdre la patience en Job. Il y a bien un mois que j'ay les troupes que je tire de ce bout du royaume en corps attendant qu'on me depechaft, car non seulement nous perdons l'occasion de prendre les rebelles pendant leur estonnement, mais, en mesme temps, celle d'agir de concert avec les fregates et mon detachement que j'ay sur leurs costés, dont j'attendrois des bons services, si je les pouvois pousser, en mesme temps, de mon costé. J'ay beau, Monsieur, de leur parler des raisons de la guerre, et leur représenter, qu'outre les dits motifs pour les obliger a diligenter ma depeche, la feureté qu'il y auroit destabliir une garnison de bonne heure au milieu des rebelles en cas qu'il y eut quelque débarquement de la part du Roy Jacques, ou soulèvement pendant l'absence de sa Majesté ; car en laissant 1200 hommes en feuretté a Inderlochy avec un regiment a Inderness et quelque autres petites garnisons, je pourray agir le reste de la campagne avec 5 a 6000 hommes, quelque part que le service du Roy m'appellast. Voicy un avantage et feureté bien visible pour le service de sa Majesté. Mais que je parle de cela. Soit au commissinaire ou a qui que ce soit du gouvernement, rien ne les peut eveiller de leur stupidité. Ce seroit dur et pecher contre la charité de condamner comme mal affectionés tous ceux qui montrent de l'indifference pour l'avancement du service, au moins quant aux mesures de la campagne. Voyant donc la lenture du commissinaire a faire expedier les choses que je luy proposay, je m'adressay il y a 8 a 10 jours au conseil, luy représentant que, puis que je n'avois nulles instructions n'y pouvoir du Roy, et que ma commission m'obligeoit a recevoir

les ordres, je venois offrir a sa consideration que la saison propre pour agir contre cette ennemy l'eculoit sans rien faire, que nous perdions les avantages mentionnes cy dessus, et pour y remedier qu'on fit un emprunt de 6000 livres sterling pour payer un entier mois de gage aux troupes que je menerois avec moy, et fournir aux fraix d'intelligence et de quelque peu de douceur aux troupes que je feray travailler a la fortification, qu'ils ordonnassent que le pais me fournît de 600 chevaux de charge pour porter les vivres par les montaigns, ou nul chariot ne peut passer, avec 800 pioniers seulement des provinces voyfines de Lochaber et qu'avec cette appareil qui ne seroit pas difficile a fournir, moyenant la bonne volonté, j'estois prest a marcher, ayant fait cuire du bisquit pour la marche, et ordonné l'envoye des farines a Inderlochy par mer ; mais quoique j'aye pu presser de bouche et par des memoires rien ne c'est resolu encore. Je ne scay, Monsieur, ce que j'en dois croire, mais je vois evidemment que quand je propose quelque chose touchant le service en conseil, Monsieur le Commiffionaire n'en parle jamais. Il ne scauroit estre avantageux au service quand celluy qui en a la direction est hay de ceux par les souffrages desquelles il faut qu'il se gouverne, et c'est justement mon cas. Les Jacobins me font ennemis, parcequ'ils le font de l'interet que j'ay epouffay, les cabalists, dont j'ay condamné les mesures, me veulent du mal, et les ministres me regardent de mauvais œil, de sorte que, comme j'ay souvent representé, j'aprehende que des gens ignorans le metier m'empechent l'avancement du service a mon egard, ce dont je suspecte ce dernier ordre, dont je conclus qu'il ne scauroit estre avantageux au service du Roy que je commande icy en chef d'oresenavant, voyant comme j'y suis hay et limité de sorte que je ne puis rien entreprendre sans la concurrence du gouvernement. Le sujet de leur haine n'est pas parceque je recherche ce qu'aucun d'eux pretend, car je declare franchement que quand le Roy m'y donneroit des avantages ausquelles je n'oserois jamais penser, je ne voudrois jamais estre personne publique en Ecoffe ; mais a cause que je n'y veu espouser nul parti que celluy du service ; et comme je n'y pretend rien que de l'avancer, aussy n'espargne-je

qui que ce soit que j'y vois manquer. Ce n'est pas une proposition nouvelle, comme vous sçavez, Monsieur, qu'il y a long temps que je vous ay tenu le mesme langage, que je ne renouvelle pas pour m'affranchir des fatigues ou hazards. Dieu le scait, mais a fin que le Roy sçache avant qu'il quite cette ile, si quelque affaire croustilleuse s'y presentoit en son absence, que je me declare incapable de le servir comme sa Majesté pourroit attendre s'il y avoit des gens vigoureux et resolu au timon de l'estat, le moindre bruit des troubles estant capable de faire perdre cœur a nostre Commissinaire, dont cette foiblesse est accompagnée d'un autre fort incommodé pour moy, c'est que quoi qu'il n'entend guere reasoner sur les affaires de la guerre, il n'en veut pas croire ceux qui en font le metier. Si le Roy Charles, ou quelque autre qui n'avoit pas l'humeur fort guerrier, avoit assujetty le jugement de ses officiers a celluy des personnes qui sont si peu capables de se former des justes idées du service, ce ne m'allarmeroit pas ; mais de me voir exposé a la risée de tous ceux qui ne sçavent pas mes dures circonstances, d'un maistre que j'ay servi tantost 16 ans sans avoir jamais donné sujet legitime de suspecter ma fidelité, c'est ce que je trouve un peu trop mortifiant ; quoique si je n'y rencontrois de facheux que ce qui me touche en particulier, mon zelle pour cett interêt me le feroit passer sous silence ; mais j'y connois un grand tort au service dont je me sens chargé quoique je n'en suis pas credité. Pour donc, Monsieur, couper court, puisque d'oresnavant l'on ne peut pas par toutes les ordinaires representer les choses au Roy, ni en tirer resolutions selon les changemens qui pourroient ariver, il seroit bon que sa Majesté fit sçavoir au Commissinaire, que quand quelqu'un lui suggereste des opinions contraires aux miennes, il nous confronte en preséance de quelques autres du conseil a fin que la raison des uns et des autres soient connues, et qu'il ne s'amuse pas sans me satisfaire des raisons, a retarder mes mesures pour le service, ou que sa Majesté me tienne pour excusé de tous les inconveniens qui en pourront arriver a son service pendant son absence, car j'en lave mes mains.

Pendant vostre absence, Monsieur, j'avois prie le Comte de Marle-

borough de demander au Roy s'il ne le jugeroit de son service, que pendant la campagne j'eusse le pouvoir de remplacer les vacances, sur tout puis qu'il faudroit attendre si long temps pour avoir leurs commissions d'Irlande, je le propose seulement, et le Roy en jugera, protestant seulement que depuis que j'ay eu le credit de lui recommander des officiers je n'en ay jamais profité un sou, si bien qu'il n'y a que la commodité du service qui m'en fait parler, estant necessaire qu'il le loge quelque part pendant son absence de cette isle, je ne me soucieray pas la, ou pourveu que le service n'en patit.

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de croire franchement que je ne me forme le moindre sujet de deplaisir qu'au regard de celluy la, estant fâché que non obstant que je me prive de tout ce que me doit estre cher et agreable au monde a cett esgard, je trouve tous mes desseins et travaux se resoudre en fumée s'avortans dans la naissance; car je me fois fort de soutenir contre qui qui s'y voulût opposer, qu'il y a long temps qu'on auroit assoupi les troubles de ce royaume sans couter de bien loin pres tant au Roy, si mes projets avoyent esté poursuivis. Ce n'est pas, Monsieur, pour me faire valoir que j'en dis tant, car un autre qui fut si appliqué si long temps peut-estre y auroit mieux reussi, surtout si le Roy deferoit plus a son jugement, mais afin que quoiqu'il arrive de moy, la suite lui fasse scavoir que je ne me proposois pour toute butte depuis que j'ay vaincues toutes mes scrupules pour m'embarquer dans cette interêt que de l'avancer fidelement sans donner un moment a d'autres pensées si ce n'est d'y implorer la benediction du ciel pour supleer a tous nos defauts et faux pas. Soyez donc assuré, Monsieur, moyenant le support d'en haut que je ne relacheray jamais de mon zelle, quoique je n'en puisse pas promettre des effets considerables de la maniere que je me trouve circonstancie. J'ay proposé qu'on formât une comitté du conseil pour vaquer principalement pendant cette campagne aux affaires de la guerre, mais quoiqu'il y ait douze jours depuis cette proposition, et que le conseil s'en est remis a la nomination de Milord Commissinaire c'en est encore a faire. Je veu croire que la lenteur de sa disposition naturelle y contribue, mais puisqu'il traite avec

les ennemis sans aucune mienne communication, ce n'est menquer a la charité que de suspecter qu'il y peut avoir du dessein de retarder mes mesures, mais si Milord a choisy ses conseillers par nomination de sa Majesté que le tort que son service en pourra recevoir leur soit aussi attribuée. Je ne puis faire nul estat sur le temps que je dois marcher. Si je ne me veux exposer a la faim, ce que je ne voudrois volontiers faire sans nécessité; mais si ces rebelles se rassemblent, il faut que je donne la dedans quoiqu'en arrive pour empêcher leur jonction avec tant qui les recevroient a bras ouverts. Je prie Dieu de conduire la personne sacrée et les desseins de sa Majesté la ramenant couronnée de lauriers, et vous souhaite de tout mon cœur toute sorte de prospérité, et suis, &c.

Quoy que j'aye honte de plus parler d'argent pour nos trois regimens, j'ay peur de la consequence, la desertion estant deja commencée dans celluy de Lauder.

Lettre au Roy, du 5 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

SIRE, Venant d'apprendre pour certain que vôtre Majesté s'est résolue de partir de Londres pour Chester jeudi 5 de ce mois, et me trouvant principalement embarrassé de ce que le gouvernement ne me preste pas la main comme il seroit bien de besoin, et que vôtre Majesté quelque instance que j'en aye fait ne me communique pas ses pensées sur ce qui relève de ma charge, et que je me met en payne d'entendre, n'ayant rien qui en divertit mon esprit, j'ay depeché Lieutenant-Collonel Hill avec des instructions touchant l'estat present des affaires et la carte du pais, ou je dois agir contre cet ennemy barbare, dont j'espère quelque temps et occasion favorable que la lenteur ou desseins ou bien tous les deux ensemble mont fait perdre mal-a-propos, moyenant la benediction de Dieu que j'implore sur ses justes armes de toutes parts, de luy rendre bon conte avant qu'il soit passé que peu des semaines et de temps.

Si vôtre Majesté aura le temps de lire ses instructions et considerer la carte elle, y verra la raison de mes plaintes, de l'idée que je me forme

de la campagne et de tort qu'on a de m'en empêcher la poursuite tant qu'on a fait jusques a presant, si bien que tous les pas qu'on l'avance sont contre le fil des desseins qui se forment pour renverser les mienes. Je suis d'opinion, Sire, qu'une personne d'un temperament differant du mien n'y rencontreroit pas tant d'obstacles, mais comme mes desseins quant au service sont justes, desintereffées, et chritiens, aussy blamé-je librement tous ceux qui n'agissent de la mesme sincerité dont je m'attire des ennemis, qui le font peut-estre a cause du moy, du service. Mais pourveu que vostre Majesté n'en retire pas son secours, j'espere que peu de temps vuidra le differant, car si son service y estoit une fois en seureté, je la prieray tres-instamment de m'en retirer. Quoique je suis d'opinion, Sire, que vostre Majesté doit laisser cette isle en toute seureté, je ne suis pas d'avis de negliger des certaines avantages selon toutes les aparances pour crainte de ce que peut arriver. J'ay demandé, Sire, au Comte de Portland que si je devois relever de ce Commisionnaire, et qu'il survins quelque affaire crostillieuse et difficile a manier, il seroit capable de tout gâter, car la peur lui fait demander conseil a bien des personnes, comme je croy et n'estant pas capable d'enformer un bon jugement, il pourra l'attacher au pis, de sorte qu'il seroit bon que vostre Majesté s'expliqua la-dessus ; car le caractere d'un commisionnaire qui ne consulte pas les choses avec un commandant-en-chef lui peut apporter beaucoup d'obstacles, surtout lorsqu'il se trouve absent du conseil, ou je trouve asses du credit pour emporter une partie de ce que je propose, quoiqu'il y paroisse fort froid et indifferent, car comme je n'aprehende rien que la perte du service, je parle franchement, il pretend d'aprehender un soulèvement tant au sud d'Ecosse qu'en Angleterre d'abord que vostre Majesté l'aura quitté, que si je me relachois tant soit peu de mon empressement pour la reduction des montagnards, il seroit capable d'en divertir le dessein pour cette année ; mais il me semble que c'est bien mal entendre et prendre les choses, car cett ennemy estant réduit tous les esprits brouillons se calmeroyent ; et si j'avois une fois assuré une poste a Inderloch, je seray capable de marcher avec un corps de 6000 hommes d'asses bonnes troupes

partout ou le service m'appelleroit, fans crainte que j'aurois ses barbares sur mes talons, au lieu qu'a presant, si j'estois occupé ailleurs ils attendroient se fondre sur le plats pais qui sont assez disposées a les recevoir et joindre. Et si pendant que je seray a Inderlochy, il survinst quelque soulèvement vers les frontieres des deux royaumes deux mille hommes que j'y laisse, comprenant le regiment de Berkley, seroient capables de leur donner des affaires en attendant que je m'accourût a leur secours, ce que je propose de pouvoir faire en fort peu de temps, et laisser ce poste hors d'inulte en mesme temps ; mais j'ay beau a rendre des raisons a des gens qui n'estudient que des arguments, la plus part pretendus, pour la renverser. Je poursuis toutes fois mon dessein, et espere que vostre Majesté l'approuvera, parce que je ne voy rien quy m'en deult divertir encore ; si Monsieur le Commiffionaire le scait, il ne me le communique pas, ce qui me fait croire que ses raisons ne sont que des chimeres et les effets de sa nature craintive. Je vous prie, Sire, d'estre persuadé que je n'ay nulle querelle contre ce Seigneur que celle du service ; et seray toujours esperant que tant d'ames fidelles persecutées quy soupirent incessamment au ciel pour implorer les benedictions sur ses armes, dont depend humainement leur deliverance, lui obtiendront par l'intercession du glorieux auteur de la verité qu'elle soustient une glorieuse campagne, avec l'heureux fin des troubles de ses trois royaumes, afin que dans les suivantes elle porte ses armes dans le cœur des estats ennemis de l'evangille et de nostre salut. Dieu y vueille ficher son sceau, et ramener vostre Majesté toute couronnée de gloire et des victoires qui feront toujours les fidelles prieres de celluy qui est inviolablement, Sire, de vostre Majesté le tres-humble, &c.

Lettre ecrite au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 5 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MONSIEUR, Vous auriez compassion de moy si vous scaviez l'embaras ou je me suis toujours trouvé depuis que le Roy m'a envoyé dans ce purgatoire, ou si j'avois d'autres desseins en veue que celluy de bien et

fidèlement avancer le service, je n'aurois pas esté si travaillie, mais m'accommodant a l'humeur de ceux qui m'y pourroient assister, je passerois le temps sans souci, trouvant assez de quoi m'excuser, quand je demeurerois aussi indifférent que ceux dont il me faut recevoir des ordres ; car je ne croy pas qu'il s'est jamais veu qu'une personne qui n'est muny d'aucun pouvoir d'agir de son chef, fut chargé de tout, comme je suis icy, car effectivement des gens plus scrupuleux que moy auroient garde de s'attirer des embarras dont leur maître les excuse, au moins tacitement. Je ne croy pas que jamais personne servant le sien de la maniere que j'ay servi le Roy qui n'en fut plus créditée, et si je l'avois par raport d'un autre circonstancié comme moy, j'aurois de la peine a le croire. Que le Roy employe une personne attachée de long temps a son intérêt et service, de la fidélité, de laquelle l'on dit qu'il se tient satisfait dans un pais et parmi un peuple tout divisé a sa Majesté, encore pour la plus part inconnus, et ou ceux quelle employe aux affaires de l'estat, ont nécessairement aussi peu de connoissance de celles de la guerre sans luy faire sçavoir la moindre chose positive de la maniere quelle doit agir, non obstant d'instances faites a cette egard. Si c'estoit, Monsieur, un gouvernement tel qu'il se voit ailleurs qui eut quelque routine de la guerre, il ne me facherait pas d'y estre assujéti, car ce n'est pas la vanité d'estre chargée de grands affaires, et au dessus de ma portée qui me pousse a tenir ce propos, au contraire j'en suis fort indifférent, pourveu que le service n'en fut negligé ; mais de recevoir tous les ordres des gens qui n'y voyent goutte, quoiqu'ils l'en croient tous des maîtres, c'est ce que naturellement ne doit pas réussir a l'avantage du service. Quoiqu'en arrive, Monsieur, ma conscience fera toujours nette, et les gens raisonnables qui sçavent ce qui en est m'excuseront de blame, quoiqu'il soit mal aisé de persuader le monde qu'il n'y aille de la faute du commandant des troupes quand les affaires a rebours. Si je sçavois que le Roy voulût que le sort de cette guerre dependit du succès de celle d'Irlande, je ne m'en mettrois pas tant en pagne, et le priois tres-humblement que je fusse de la partie ; mais comme ma raison et les imparfaites idées que je me forme du metier

me dictoient des pensées contraires, je tachois de faire telles dispositions quelle fut achevée icy, scavoir la campagne, avant quelle pût commencer la, scachant qu'il ne faut pas tant de façon pour agir avec des petits corps, qu'avec des grandes armées. Si donc je ne fais pas les choses selon l'intention de mon maître, je n'en suis pas à blamer, car je n'en scay rien, autrement j'auray garde d'y manquer. A toutes mes difficultés, Monsieur, ce n'est pas la moindre que nos trois regiments manquent d'argent; le porteur de celle-ci, vous pourra faire voir l'accident qu'il en est arrivé depuis peu, et je fouhaitte que la punition qui le suivit de si pres en arrête le cours. Ce n'est pas la vraie façon de la laisser manquer d'argent aux troupes lorsqu'il faut marcher contre les ennemis, mais patience, des autres en auroient fait plus de bruit, et peut-estre en feroient plus refroidis et descouragés. Je feray toujours mon possible pour n'avoir rien à me reprocher, je ne me plaindray plus de la maniere desobligeante que Milord Commissinaire me traite; il voudroit que je dependis des ordres qu'il ne consulte qu'avec ceux qui sont ignorants ou me sont suspects. Mais je m'adresse dorenavant au conseil, et me fache que je ne l'aye fait plustost, car la je trouve que la raison prend quelque place, et depuis ma dernière, je m'y trouve assisté aussi bien qu'au Parlement, et plus que je n'attendois de Monsieur le Duc d'Hamilton. Il y a quatre à cinq jours qu'il se plaint qu'il n'a jamais esté si mal traité sous aucun gouvernement, et me pria de vous écrire et représenter que s'il avoit fait quelque chose qui parut contre le service du Roy, que cela n'a jamais esté son dessein, comme il en appelle à témoin ce qu'il avoit dit au Parlement quand il estoit question de ses prerogatives royales, mais que se trouvant negligé et comme traité en petit garçon des ministres, la nature avoit tant de pouvoir sur lui qu'il en vouloit aucunement estre revangé. Je lui dis que je vous écrirais de la maniere qu'il parloit, mais qu'il avoit donné trop de sujet depuis la session du Parlement de le suspecter par tous ceux qui s'intéressent pour le service de leurs Majestés et trop de prises à ses ennemis en se joignant à tels qu'on en scavoit estre ennemis, et dont il n'avoit pas accoutumé d'estre trop amis auparavant. Il me dit qu'il

n'avoit consulté qu'avec des gens qu'il scavoit estre affectionés comme lui a ce gouvernement en general, mais qu'il en voudroit voir la maniere entre d'autres mains quant au ministere, et me prioit de croire que c'estoit le fond de son dessein et jamais la moindre pensée de traverser le regne de leurs Majestés. Quoiqu'il en soit il semble qu'il se relâche. Je scay bien que lorsqu'a mon jugement il seroit bien le Roy que Milord Melvill en parloit mal, scavoir l'année passé. C'est une personne assez habille et scavante quant au gouvernement de ce pais, mais je ne l'ay jamais considérée comme propre a manier des dessein perilleux, estant trop ouvert, car a mon opinion il a le cœur sur le bouche, car ceux qui ne savent dissimuler leurs mecontentemens ne sont jamais fort dangereux a l'estat et pour lui sa maniere de faire mit le Commissaire des son arrivée icy sur les gardes. Il me dit aussi qu'il ne vouloit pas répondre de la conduite de son fils, qu'il estoit trop fréquenté de trop de gens mal affectionés a ce regne, et voulut que je vous avertisse qu'il n'estoit plus sur caution, le temps estant écoulé, je l'ay communiqué a Milord Commissaire, quoiqu'il je croy que ce jeune Seigneur feroit facile a gagner ; mais je ne veu jamais répondre d'un Ecoissois de ce temps, car je le voye si flottant que je ne puis pas en faire jugement definitif, mais comme il me semble vous avoir écrit d'autres fois, je suis d'opinion que les ministres créent plus des malcontents (surtout quand a ceux dont il apprehende la qualité et le credit) qu'il ne seroit pas convenable pour les conjonctions. Je ferois pour la facilité et seureté du service, et pour l'avancement de l'intérêt protestant, que tous les serviteurs du Roy fussent en cet endroit comme moy, qui se dit sans vanité faisant le service par une principe de conscience, sans égard a l'intérêt propre. Mais je vous assure, Monsieur, que l'en trouve peu icy même de ceux que veulent passer pour tels, quoique Monsieur le Commissaire dit tout hautement que le service du Roy lui a déjà coûté 2000 livres sterling, et que son fils en a perdu 5 a 6000 par son regiment, quoique je sache que ce jeune Seigneur en profita plus de 2000 livres sterling le premier mois, car il ne donnoit pas un sou d'argent de levée a ses officiers, ni du mois de Mars, et que d'autres

entendant le propos du pere dirent qui pouvoient faire le conte de plus de 15,000 livres sterling qu'il avoit profité depuis qu'il est secretaire d'estat. Tous ces propos ne font, Monsieur, que pour vous faire voir la religion et le zelle de ce pais c'y n'est qu'interêt tout haut qu'il en crie ; et qu'il y auroit toujours des querelles et mecontentemens du costé des ministres pour tacher de si continuer et d'empoigner pour eux et pour toutes leurs creatures tous les profits, et des autres qui l'en croient plus dignes par le sang de possédé. Enfin, je croy de pouvoir faire estat de marcher vers le 13 ou 14 de ce mois, parcequ'apres beaucoup de disputes et de sollicitations l'on m'a ordonné 600 chevaux de charge pour porter les vivres et le petit bagage des troupes, et j'ay assez bonne opinion de la faire, moyenant la concurrence du ciel, car celle des hommes me manque, n'ayant que ce que l'arrache contre le gré des ministres ; mais le Duc d'Hamilton m'a promis la finne pendant mon absence, car depuis que j'ay changé de ton je commence d'emporter quelque chose au conseil quand je suis presant. S'il arrive icy quelque vacance, je vous prie de vous souvenir de Monsieur Buchan, qui est un des plus sçevés officiers que j'ay avec moy, et merit fort bien un regiment, estant affectonné au service, et capable de le metre sur un bon pied quand même il en eut qui ne valût guere. Le porteur de celle-ci voudroit bien avoir un ordre du Roy pour son traitement d'adjutant-general c'est peu de chose icy, a cause qu'il estoit accommodé au temps de paix ou ses officiers n'estoient pas obligés a faire des depances. Si le Roy le lui vouloit faire augmenter pendant la guerre il en seroit plus capable d'en faire le service, car c'est un bon officier dont j'attend beaucoup d'assistance. Il est estrange que le Roy ne me donne point d'aide de camp, quoique je n'aye ecrite plus d'une fois ; je ne me plains de rien de ce qui me touche en particulier, car je serois fâché si dans ce service je serois capable de me laisser chatoiuiller d'aucune consideration que de l'esperance de contribuer mon peu a l'avancement de l'interêt protestant. Je vous prie de pardonner que je vous ecrite de si longues lettres ; mais c'est pour le service du maistre qui doit excuser l'importunité. Croyez franchement, Monsieur, que je ne vous

ecris j'aimais que la verité felon l'idée prefante que j'ay des chofes. Mais comme je tiens mon chemin en ligne droite, il ne faut pas s'étonner que je varie quelque fois dans mes relations des perfonnes, a mefure qu'ils s'en approchent ou eloignent. S'il plaît a Dieu d'appaifer les troubles de ce pais par mes foibles quoique fidelles et diligens efforts, je vous prie que le Roy ne m'y laiffe d'avantage, car mon humeur eft incompatible avec les gens de ce pais-cy. Je fuis en toute fincerité, Monfieur, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, du 8 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

SIRE, Venant d'apprendre qu'avec communication et recommandation de Milord Commiffionaire et des autres, le Comte de Braidalbin eft parti fecrettement d'icy pour Chefter, je me croyé obligé d'avertir vofre Majefté que c'eft par un confeil privé des perfonnes lesquelles pour la plus part fe font montrées jufques icy ennemis de fon interet et fervice (temoin que le dit Comte a la clofture de la derniere campagne crût qu'il ne peut eftre acouvert de loix fans prendre l'indamnité) et le feroit demain fi le Roy Jacques eftoit en eftat de fouteinir leurs deffeins et efforts, et que le dit Braidalbin eft un des plus grands diffimulateurs, pour ne pas dire de Judas qu'il y a au monde. Je ne m'oppoferois jamais, Sire, aux effets de vofre clemence royalle, mais de grace n'accordes point de ceffation d'armes a des rebelles, qui ne cherchent qu'a gagner du temps, fe voyans en eftat de ne pouvoir pas parer le coup qui eft prêt a eclatter fur leurs teftes; car tout court, Sire, ils ne fe foumettront jamais en forte au gouvernement de vofre Majefté, qu'ils ne foient toujours prêts de fe joindre a fes ennemis, qu'on ne leur ait mis le pied fur la gorge. Quelque condition donc que vofre Majefté de fa grace royalle leur veuille accorder, il ne faut nullement demordre du deffein d'eftablir une forte garnifon pendant cette campagne au milieu d'eux, et de les defarmer; et tous ceux qui luy confeillent le contraire, en ignorent la confequence ou trahiffent fon fervice.

Je suis prêt a marcher dans leur pais avec 5000 hommes d'affes bonnes troupes, capables moyenant que Dieu ne nous soit contraire d'effectuer mon dessein, quand il leur devroit venir 2 a 3000 hommes de secours d'ailleurs j'auray pres de 10,000 hommes, tant des troupes réglées que des montagnards nos amis a Indernells que je me pourray faire joindre ou agir d'un autre costé, selon que j'en verray occasion, et avec le regiment de Berklay sur lequel je fay estat laisser environ 2600 hommes en deça la riviere de Forth, et les autres quartiers du royaume bien assurés contre tous hormis des voleurs. Ceux qui ont commencé et fait continuer cette rebellion jusques icy sont tellement allarmées de ma marche qu'ils mettent toutes pierres en œuvre pour la retarder, et Milord Commissinaire, soit par sa nature craintif ou de dessein, (l'imaginant trouver dans la reduction des montagnards par voye d'accommodement plus de quoi se faire valoir avec son grand conseiller Tarbet que s'ils estoient reduits par les armes), y donne dedans, comme il y a quelque temps que je l'ay remarqué. Le mauvais temps commence de bonne heure dans ces pais montaigneux, les troupes sont en marche, au moins le feront avant que je les puisse contremander vers le lieu de rendezvous, et comme je mene le plus grand nombre, je dois couvrir la marche des autres. La despance pour les vivres et autres materiaux est deja faite, et ne faut que deux fois 24 heures et moins de bon vent pour avoir de nos vaisseaux de vivres soit de Glasgou ou de ce costé de royaume, ou nous en avons fait embarquer afin que le vent ne nous puisse guere manquer de l'un des ports a Inderlochy, les chevaux pour les tentes et les vivres qui nous doivent servir pendant la marche, et qui nous a coûté du temps pour les obtenir de ce gouvernement sont ordonnées pour le 12 du courant au quartier des troupes. Si bien que si je suis arreté a presant vostre Majesté en peut facilement decouvrir la consequence, que les ennemis pourront desfaire quelques unes des troupes qui marchent d'autres quartiers, que toute la depance tant pour les fregates, le louage des vaisseaux de charges, que le parti de Ferguson et les vivres est perdue, qu'il faudra renvoyer les chevaux de bagage qui couteroit du temps pour les ravoïr, et que nous

perdrions infalliblement cette saison pour la reduction des rebelles, et tout cela pour fournir a ses ministres matiere de se glorifier d'avoir trouvé le moyen de reduire les montagnards a cette heure qu'on les tiennent en sa main d'une maniere plus effective selon toutes les apparences humaines, si on me laisse faire estant assuré qu'ils ne me puisse oppoer la moitié des forces que je vay mener contr'eux ; et si ce doit commencer quelque brouillerie dans cette isle pendant l'absence de vostre Majesté, ce seroit le veritable moyen de travailler utilement a l'appaiser que de nous assurer de ce costé la au plustot, car je me propose qu'au bout de 8 jours apres mon arrivé-la d'y pouvoir laisser 10 a 1200 hommes en toute feureté pour accourir avec le reste des troupes-la ou le service de vostre Majesté me pourroit appeller, lesquels retiendroient tous ces rebelles chez eux, pour ne leur abandonner leurs femmes, enfans, maisons, et bestail, quand même il se levat un sousevement dans d'autres endroits des deux royaumes. C'est ce que les ennemis apprehendent de ce dessein, et dont Milord Commissinaire estant imbu des arguments de Tarbot, qui est le plus charitable jugement que je puisse former de son opiniatreté a contre quarrer toutes mes mesures, et ne veut pas se laisser convaincre. Sire, je ne vous propose rien que je ne juge de vostre vraye service, et comme vostre Majesté ne peut pas former des jugemens sur la maniere de faire la guerre contre ses barbares que par description qu'elle reçoit des uns et des autres d'icy, de leurs forces, disposition naturelle et de la nature et situation de leur pais. Il me semble qu'il me deut croire plus qu'aucun autre qui l'y trouve, tant a cause de mes services, du temps que j'y ay deja passé ; et que je suis natif d'un pais voisin et semblable, hormis qu'il est plus civilisé ; que parce que peut-estre suis-je le seul de tous ceux que vostre Majesté y employe en caractère publique qui ne cherche de faire marcher ses intérêts particuliers de paire avec celluy de son service. Je vous supplie donc, Sire, derechef de ne pas vouloir accrediter vos ennemis plus que vos fidels serviteurs, et puisque j'aye travaillé sous tant des difficultés avant que de pouvoir conduire les affaires a tel point quelle se trouvent a presant, qu'on ne m'empêche de faire jouer la mine que

j'ay preparée au detrimement du service ; ou si vostre Majesté nonobstant ce que j'ay tant de fois dit sur ce sujet, resolut de pretter l'oreille aux propositions mercenaires de ce Braidalbin, ou de quelque autre pour luy, qu'elle me pardonne de grace que je ne scaurois me refoudre de plus continuer mes services en Ecoffe, estant prêt d'estre employé le reste de la campagne partout ailleurs ou elle le trouvera bon ; mais jamais pour estre temoin tant a voir les effets que je me suis proposé de tant des veilles et des soins renversées, qu'a me voir, en même temps, exposé a la risée de ceux qui ne sont mes ennemis (n'ayant rien de particulier a demeler avec eux) que parce que je tache de servir vostre Majesté et l'interêt protestant fidellement, et sans m'attacher pour cultiver faveur de qui que ce soit aux factions, estant graces a Dieu agi d'un principe plus chrestienne et honorable que de me laisser emporter par des desseins mercenaires contre l'interêt du service, tellement que de faire un pas que je ne jugeasse y devoir contribuer. Le Comte d'Argyll, Sire, estant allarmé du depart clandestin de Braidalbin, et fort interessé dans le traitté qui se doit conclure avec ses rebelles, va trouver vostre Majesté ; et comme j'apprehend que le Commisionnaire, pour ne manquer a son but de preferer toute autre voye de les reduire aux armes, proposera peut-estre d'employer ce premier. Mais je desaprouve cette maniere d'en venir a bout de qui quelle soit maniée, comme honteuse aux armes de vostre Majesté la necessité m'y obligeant pas, aussi bien qu'ineffectuel pour obtenir la fin qu'on pretend de s'en proposer, scavoir, le rétablissement de la paix. Je vous supplie, Sire, de pardonner cette liberté a une personne qui ne s'estoit engagé dans vos desseins glorieux, et tant necessaires pour le support de la verité chrestienne, que par un principe de conscience et de devoir qui seul l'y attache inviolablement comme estant, Sire, de vostre Majesté le tres-humble, tres-fidelle, et tres-obeissant Sujet et Serviteur, &c.

## Instructions pour L'ADJUTANT-GENERAL HILL, du mois de Juin 1690.

IL representera au Roy, que sans renverser mes desseins, et me rendre incapable de les poursuivre l'on ne peut pas tirer de ce royaume aucun des corps qui s'y trouvent a presant, et que je ne scauroye dire pour quand que l'on les en pourra tirer que premierement je ne voye l'estat de la garnison d'Inderlochy, dont s'il plait a Dieu d'en faire bien reussir le dessein comme je l'espere, je ne manqueray pas d'en avertir d'abord sa Majesté.

Que je laisseray vers le sud du royaume a cause que Milord Commissionnaire est fort apprehensif d'un soulèvement les regiments de Cunningham et de Leven infanterie a l'entour d'Edinbourg avec la compagnie des gardes cavallerie, deux compagnies de cavallerie legere et une de dragons, et que j'y renvoyeray d'abord que j'auray joint Levingston avec des troupes du nord, les six compagnies de Bevrish, et deux autres des dragons de Cardros, lesquelles troupes, avec le regiment dragons de Berklay sur les frontieres, auxquels j'ordonneray qu'on joigne les chevaux et dragons Ecoffois que je laisse dans cette parti meridionale du royaume, tiendront bien les malcontents en bride pendant mon absence, ou je fouhaitterois que quelque un de service commanda en chef.

Jé donne au Maistre de Forbes, pour tenir en bride l'intervalle entre le sud et le nord, deux compagnies de cavallerie et trois des dragons de Cardros, avec ce qu'il peut assembler des gens du pais, tant a pied qu'a cheval.

Je formeray un petit corps volant de 14 a 1500 hommes, tant des troupes réglées que des gens du Milord Southerland, de Milord Reay, et du Laird de Balnagown, tout fort zellé et affectionné pour le service de leurs Majestés, et de la nature de nos ennemis, afin que quand j'entre dans leur pais d'un costé de deux grands lacs, ils ne tombent dans celluy de nos amis de l'autre.

J'y ay envoyé 1500 outils pour remuer la terre, avec 5000 grosses pallifades pour planter sur la contrescarpe du fort d'abord qu'on l'aura tracé, au dedans de laquelle pallifade la garnison et pionniers pourront travailler en toute seureté a couvert de tous les efforts de cet ennemy, bien que le service du Roy m'obligeat de m'en retirer au bout de fix jours pour tomber sur les bras a des ennemis qui se remueroient quelque autre part du royaume. Outre les susdittes troupes, j'ay 600 hommes en garnison a Indernefs; 360 dans Blair d'Athol, maison appartenante au Marquis de ce nom; 80 de nos trois regiments de garnison dans une maison dans le haut du pais de Mar; quatre compagnies dans une maison appartenante au Comte de Braid-Albin, pour nous assurer de son pais; sept compagnies de Glenkairne en tres mechant estat a Perth, lesquelles ont ordre de s'en retirer si quelque ennemy, beaucoup plus nombreux, s'en vint approcher, estant tout ouvert; et le regiment de Kenmore au passage de Stirling, avec deux compagnies dans le chateau de ce nom.

Je donne rendezvous a St Thomas Levingston avec son regiment, ceux de Milord Angus et de Grant avec deux compagnies de cavallerie dans Baidenoch, d'ou je n'auray que deux jours de marche a Inderlochy, d'abord que j'auray avis que mes vaisseaux des vivres y auront joints Ferguson.

L'Adjutant-General fera voir au Roy par la carte que je luy ay pretée pour ce sujet, tout le pais ou j'auray a agir contre cet ennemy, et le chemin que je dois tenir de Perth ou St. Johnston, ou les troupes se trouvent a presant; le premier jour a Dunkelde, le seconde a Blair Athol ou j'ay garnison, le troisieme il faut loger sur la Bruyere, et le quatrieme a Ruthen en Baidenoch, ou je formeray mon corps et feray mes destachements de Ruthen a Garvie dans le haut de Baidenoch, de Garvie a Glenroy et Keppoch, demeure de insigne voleur de ce nom, qui fut le premier lequel joint Dundee aupres d'Indernefs l'année passée, d'ou je le chassay avec 4 a 500 hommes que j'avois pris avec moy dessein de pousser jusques la; et de Keppoch a Inderlochy, ou je donneray rendezvous a Ferguson et les vaisseaux de charge, pendant que les fregates a la reserve

d'une pour escorter, bloquerons l'Isle de Mull, qui se voit aussi dans la carte a l'embouchure de la riviere de Lochy.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 8 Juin 1690.

MONSIEUR, Trouvant que Milord Commissinaire l'oppiniafrant a toute outrance dans son dessein, deja entamé par un certain Hill, qu'il employe de traiter avec nos rebelles d'accommodement en les achetant par argent, vient de depecher le Comte de Braid-Albin pour chercher avec une recommandation a sa Majesté pour quelle l'employe a faire reussir le dit dessein, je me trouve obligé de vous dire que ce n'est pas le service du Roy, ny le reestablissement d'une paix durable dans le royaume qui le rendent si intentionné sur ce traité, qui doit couter au Roy selon qu'on me le rapporte de la bouche de sudit Hill 10,000 livres sterling ; mais a fin de pouvoir faire valoir a l'avantage de sa famille, et continuation de son ministere, l'estat ou ces rebelles se trouvent a presant reduits, tant par les vaisseaux et le parti que j'ay envoyé sur leur costé, que par les forces toutes prêtes a marcher que j'y dois mener en peu de jours, a fin qu'en prevenant l'effet de nos preparatifs pour faire place a cette autre maniere de venir a bout de ces rebelles, il se glorifie d'en avoir esté l'auteur, et Milord Tarbet le conseiller. Vous scavez, Monsieur, que c'estoit mon opinion l'année passée qu'on travaillat a les gaigner de cette maniere, et si on y avoit reussi, il auroit epargné au Roy 2000 livres sterling. Mais pour cette fois-cy, voyant qu'il y a moyen plus sur et honorable d'en venir a bout, et que je scay qu'il n'y a que la necessité qui fait rechercher cette voye a des gens qui ne voudroient jamais voir ce gouvernement establi qu'ils n'y trouvent leur intérêt, je suis absolument d'une autre opinion, d'autant plus qu'il n'y a pas moyen de l'assurer de ces rebelles qu'en les mettant hors d'estat de nous nuire. Sachez donc, Monsieur, qu'ils se trouvent pressés, qu'ils craignent que nous ne prevenions les secours qu'ils attendent d'Irlande avec beaucoup de confiance ;

et quand même ce traité reussiroit de la maniere que Milord Commissinaire le propose, qu'on ne gagnera rien, si la garnison ne s'établit a Inderlochy. J'ay pris la liberté d'écrire mon opinion la-dessus au Roy, et je trouve que tous mes arguments ont si peu d'impression sur l'esprit du Commissinaire, que j'en suis meü de croire quelque autre chose semblable a ce que j'en viens de dire dessus plustot qu'un pur dessein d'avancer le service; quoy qu'il en soit, je suis resolu de n'y plus servir si je voy que les projets des ennemis du Roy (car le Commissinaire n'en est pas l'auteur) l'emporte par dessus tout ce que je puis représenter pour soutenir la validité des miens dont j'ay rendu mes raisons tout a plain au Roy. Si j'ay quelque mien dessein icy ce n'est que d'avoir bientôt a fait a fin de tourner le dos a l'Ecosse pour ne jamais la revoir plus. Le Comte d'Argyll est fort allarmé du depart de Braid-Albin, la plus part de ces rebelles estants ses vasseaux et luy retenans ses terres par force, si bien qu'il attend que par le traité qu'on concluroit avec eux il devrait estre considéré, quoy que je croy qu'il aimeroit mieux qu'on les domtast par les armes. Ayant écrit par l'Adjutant-General Hill une trop longue lettre, je ne veux pas tomber cette fois-cy dans la même faute, d'autant plus que j'ay écrit au Roy tout ce que je voulois dire sur le sujet de cette conduite de ses ministres que je n'approuve pas, scachant que l'intérêt de son service n'en est pas le principal but, mais me recommandant a l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, je suis, Monsieur, vostre tres-humble et tres, &c.

Lettre écrite au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 26 Juillet 1690, de Perth.

MONSIEUR, Je n'ay reçu celle dont vous m'avez honoré du 4 courant qu'aujourd'hui, quoy qu'il y a 15 jours que nous reçumes la nouvelle de la glorieuse victoire que nostre grand Roy a emportée par la grace singuliere de Dieu sur les ennemis de sa verité son nom soit éternellement benît qui l'a sauvé d'un danger si éminent pour s'en servir comme d'un instrument choisy dans sa main toute puissante pour l'avance-

ment de la gloire et elargissement du regne de son fils sur la terre. Le même jour que sa Majesté deffit l'armée Irlandoise, j'entray dans Lochaber par une faincte, avant que les ennemis qui m'attendoient a l'unique passage de ce costé-la, qu'ils crurent praticable par de la cavallerie et baggage a cheval, en eussent la connoissance, et parceque vous avez la carte de ces hauts pais je vous enferay en bref le recit.

Le 21 de Juin, je partis avec environ 3000 tant cavallerie qu'infanterie de St. Johnston, poullant ce jour-la jusques a 4 miles au dessus de Dunkel, dans le pais d'Athol, pour faire croire aux ennemis que je prenois le chemin tout droit par Blair et Drumogehter a Badenoch ; mais trouvant qu'il y avoit par ce chemin des passages difficiles gueres loins du pais ennemy, ou ils se pourroient rendre pour incommoder sans grand risque a eux, le lendemain je pris a droit par Strathardil, Glenfchie, Braemar, Strathdon et Strathavin joignant Levingston le 27 dans Strathspey, pais du Laird de Grant, ou je reposay un jour. Le 29 j'avançay jusqu'a Ruthen en Badenoch ; le 30 j'avançay encore 6 miles jusqu'a Clunie, et ayant ordonné au gens du pais qu'on m'amenat des vaches pour l'armée a Garva, qui feroit le droit chemin au passage ou les ennemis s'estoient postés pour me le disputer, j'y poullaye quatre compagnies de chevaux et dragons comme l'avant garde, pour faire courre nouvelle que j'avançois par la vers le dit poste ennemy ; et ayant avancé trois miles de ce costé-la, je tournay teste soudain vers la gauche, et passage par des hautes montagnes et marais jusques la impraticable aux troupes, et entraye par Glenfpean. Ayant ordonné au parti que j'avois avancé pour les amuser de joindre m'arriere garde, dont les ennemis ayants eu avertissement, se separerent chacun chez soy pour retirer ses bestails, ou consiste leur richesse, dans les bois et forêts ; et comme mon dessein n'estoit que de batre vitement le fort, pour puis apres m'en retourner au plus tôt, je marchay sans m'amuser a chercher leurs cachettes, et sans autres matériaux que la pele et bescie, en onze jours de temps fort pluvieux, j'ay eslevé un fort qui deffiera tous les montagnards d'Ecosse, et l'ay laissé pourveu des vivres et munitions de guerre asses pour donner du temps au gouverne-

ment d'y envoyer par mer le secours neceffaire, et a mon retour laiffay en paffant une garnifon a Ruthen en Badenoch, avec ordre au commandant de f'y fortifier d'avantage ne voulant point me trop areter pour ne pas manquer des vivres, et ne fcachant comment les affaires alloient au fud n'y en Angleterre. Je trouve que Buchan et Canon, pendant l'abfance des troupes, ont ramaffés quelques chevaux enfemble au nombre d'environ 200 tels que fi avec quelques centaines de montagnards du fhire de Perth ; mais pour ceux de Lochaber, je fuis affuré qu'il n'en fortira guere d'avantage de leur pais. Comme je ne fais que fortir des hauts pais, je n'ay pas encore nouvelle affurée des dits Buchan et Canon, quoy qu'on dife qu'ils ne font guere loin de Stirling, mais j'ay envoyée des efpiens de leur coûté ; je croy marcher demain de ce coûté-la bien que fort mal fourni de vivres et d'argent, ce gouvernement cy n'ayant nul foin de fés chofes neceffaires. J'ay a prefant dans le fud nos trois regimens entiers, celluy de Leslie, et neuf compagnies fort foibles d'Argyll et autant d'Angus, les autres quatre de chacun ayant efté laiffées a Inderlochy, nommé Fort William, avec neuf compagnies de Grant, et deux cent montagnards, qui fe font deja mis au folde du Roy. Il y a encore le regiment de Leven et Cuningham ; ceux de Glencairn et de Kenmore ne valent pas grand chofe, je ferois d'avis que le Roy le donnat a Buchan qui merite bien qu'on le confidere, foit pour la connoiffance du metier ou affection pour le fervice de fa Majesté, et qu'on en laiffat le furplus des compagnies dans les garnifons, ou elles fe trouvent a prefant comme independantes tant qu'on en aura befoin ; car autrement le Roy n'en tirera jamais aucun fervice, et en cas que Buchan fera accommodé de cette maniere, je voudrois avoir mon lieutenant-colonel, qui n'eft pas dans la melieure intelligence avec mes capitains changé dans le regiment de Ramfay, et que mon neveu, Major de Levinfton, eut ma lieutenance colonele, lequel a rendu bon fervice au Roy, m'ayant joint avec quatre cent montagnards de gens de fa famille hardis et bien faits, fans lefquels nous aurions eu difficulté de fubfifter a Lochaber, auffy bien que de faire de bons partis, nos gens pefamment armées, n'y eftants pas fi propres dans ces fortes de terrains.

Je viens de recevoir avis que Buchan et Canon, allarmés de mon retour, se retirent dans hauts pais, et comme le principal de nos soins fera dorénavant tenir l'œil sur l'Angleterre pendant l'absence du Roy, je suis d'avis de ne pas m'amuser à poursuivre à petit parti par les montagnes et forêts, dont les troupes se ruineroient, aussi ne seroit il pas praticable faute des vivres ; mais si j'apprends qu'ils prennent le chemin du nord, je detacheray quelques compagnies de chevaux et dragons Ecoffois pour renforcer celles que j'y ay laissées, pour de cette maniere les resserrer dans leurs montagnes, jusqu'à ce que le mauvais temps leur fasse tout quitter prise. J'auray de quoy former un corps de 7000 hommes, tant cavallerie que dragons et infanterie, de fort bonnes troupes au sud. Nos trois regiments, avec ceux de Lellie et de Leven, estants en fort bon estat, celluy de Cuningham passablement bon, et le regiment de Levingston un des meilleurs du service. Nostre cavallerie passe contre un tel ennemy, mais elle seroit trop legere contre une bonne. Les hommes sont de bonne mine, et feroient montés comme ils sont et armés de longues armes de bons dragons ; mais ils auroient besoin de quelque changement d'officiers. Je vous remercie, Monsieur, du relas que vous m'avez envoyé du combat, et de l'estat de la fanté du Roy. Dieu la luy conserve pour long temps, à la gloire de son nom et consolation de tous fideles protestans, dont l'exemple de ses vertus royales et Chrétiennes fera, comme j'espère croistre le nombre dans ses royaumes, autant que les vices de ses ancestres au throne, l'ont fait diminuer. Je vous remercie, Monsieur, de l'assurance que vous avez le bonté de me donner de vostre estime, vous assurant en sincerité que personne n'est plus que moy, Monsieur, vostre tres-humble et tres-obeyssant Serviteur, &c.

Lettre écrite au COMTE DE PORTLAND.

MONSIEUR, Je suis tellement persuadé des grandes occupations de vos moments, que je ne voudrois pas en interrompre le cours par mes lettres,

fi ce n'estoit que pour le même intérêt et service. Depuis que j'ay sceu que le Roy resolut de ne pas permettre que je bougeasse d'icy de tout l'hyver, j'avois commencé a former le dessein d'en appaiser les troubles de bonne heure, a cause que je le confiderois a grand charge et empeschement au service de sa Majesté d'y depenser tant d'argent, et employer tant de troupes ; et voyant se couvrir une division quy alloit dechirer le parti qui des le commencement se declara pour leurs Majestés, je le crus de mon devoir d'avertir la cour de ce que j'en descouvris selon mon jugement, et les suites naturelles que je m'en figurois de ces divisions, scavoir, un grand desordre parmi des troupes sans subsistance, des factions quy empescheroient l'establissement du gouvernement dans le Parlement et un peuple irrité, les uns doutants de l'establissement de ce qu'ils souhaitoient uniquement, scavoir, leur culte d'Eglise, et les autres par la foule des troupes qui ne subsistoient que de ce qu'elles en prenoient bon gré ou mal gré ; et le tout aboutissant a fortifier la rebellion formée dans le pais, et a servir de fondement aux desseins des ennemis irreconciliables du regne de leurs Majestés. Vous savez, Monsieur, ce qui j'ay avancé sur ce sujet, et me persuade, quoy que la providance divine nous a detournés les desordres, que toutes ses confusions auroient naturellement peu produire que les conseils de ceux qui portoient le Roy a deferer l'assemblément du Parlement sentoient plus leurs propres intérêts que son vray service et le repos de ses estats ; car il n'y a aucun doute que moyenant la même condescension que je vois a present le Roy n'est reçu du Parlement, il y a six mois ce qu'il en recevra a present, ce qui aura mis les affaires sur un autre pied qu'elles ne se trouvent ; car la rebellion en auroit déjà esté esteinte, les coffres du Roy espargnées, et la plus part des troupes auroient pu estre employée ailleurs. Mais voyans que mes avertissements ne trouvoient point de credit, je tournay mes pensées du costé des ennemis pour mediter le moyen de faire des tels progres contre eux de bonne heure, quy eussent le même effet, et pût rendre le Parlement de meilleurumeur ; voyant les affaires du Roy s'avancans sans son secours, et proposay quelque vaisseau de guerre, des armes, et un fort

mediocre somme d'argent, pour faire les preparacions neceffaires pour attaquer les ennemis par mer au mois d'Avril, et etabliir un poſte a Inderlochy. Mais ne pouvant tirer aucun reſolution de la cour ſur mes propoſitions, et ne voulant paſſer le temps et laiſſer approcher la ſaiſon ſans rien faire, je communiquay mes penſées a une comitté du conſeil, laquelle jugeant que le threſor n'en pourroit pas ſurvenir aux fraix, entreprit de fournir a un detachement de bord les hommes ſeulement que j'ay propoſé d'envoyer avec les fregates. Puisque je voyois l'autre deſſein ſe trouvant renverſé, jugeant que ce detachement feroit une telle diversion des forces qu'elle ne pourroit pas tous incurſer tout le plat pais, ny fortir ſi fort en campagne avant que nous fuſſions prêts, que de nous attirer vers eux, et nous divertir par la du deſſein d'etabliir une garniſon a Inderlochy ; mais tout ce que j'ay pu faire depuis que les fregates ſont venues, et quelques ſemaines auparavant ne les a pu depecher juſqu'a hier, et a cette heure que nous devons marcher, en même temps, pour agir de conſert, nous voicy arreſtés faute des ſubſiſtance pour les troupes, et les ennemis ont le temps de reprendre cœur apres l'eſchec qu'ils ont reçu depuis peu. J'ay peur que nos trois regiments ne ſoyent les premiers qui ſe deſaſſent, parcequ'ils ſont accoutumés d'eſtre bien payés, et a preſent qu'on les tient en corps pour marcher d'abord qu'on entendra, des mouvemens ennemis, ils ne peuvent ſans argent ou proviſion. Les 7500 livres ſterling, dont vous, Monſieur, ecrivez, je n'en ay rien apris, non plus que de l'argent pour nos regimens, et Milord Commiſſionaire fait diſtribuer la plus part de 4000 livres ſterling, que Van der Eſch m'avoit envoyé, pour ſouvenir aux fraix de la campagne aux troupes Ecoſſoïſes, ſi bien qu'il faut que je demeure miſerablement les bras croiſſes, ou que j'expoſe les troupes a la faim. J'aprehende que Milord Tarbot n'aye trop d'influence ſur l'eſprit de Milord Commiſſionaire, et que le deſſein de renverſer mes deſſeins ne provienne de la, ſi le ſervice n'en paſſoit a même temps, je m'en ſoucirois d'autant moins que j'en aye ecrite au Roy. Je vous prie, Monſieur, ſ'il n'y a pas deſſein de perdre ſes trois regiments qu'on trouve moyen de leur faire payer l'arriereage, car c'eſt

impossible de subsister icy a credit. J'ay signé pour 1000 livres sterling pour mon regiment ; mais veu que la solde tarde a venir, et que je n'ay pas des biens considerables dans ce pais, ils ne veulent plus m'en creditor. J'ay aussi fait subsister une compagnie de 100 hommes, que j'avois prise, il y a un an, a la solde du Roy, des montagnards de nostre pais les ayant continues dans leurs propres habits pour estre plus dispos ; c'est la compagnie dont Levinston parle dans sa lettre, laquelle a subsisté a mes depans depuis six mois. Je suis fâché, Monsieur, qu'on ne mette quelque marque d'estime sur le Maître de Forbes, on luy auroit pu donner un commission de lieutenant-colonel jusques a ce que le Roy eut occasion de faire quelque autre chose pour luy, car en effet il s'est signalisé par dessus tous les Lords d'Ecosse ; mais il a des ennemis parce que j'espouse ses intérêts. Le Commissaire avoit promis qu'il l'auroit, mais Tarbet luy chiffe a l'oreille. C'estoit un abus que les gens de Grant avoient joints les rebelles, au contraire c'estoit que Levinston eut les meilleurs avis. Je suis, Monsieur, &c.

Je croy que je pourray hasarder de vous envoyer ces remarques que j'envoye ce jointe. Si vous y trouvez quelque chose qui soit digne de la consideration de sa Majesté, vous les luy pourrez montrer, car les premiers pas qu'un prince fait dans le commencement de son gouvernement font de consequence, tout le monde jugeant de la ce qu'il doit attendre de la suite.

1. Si tels conseils qui tendent a insister sur des prerogatives qui ont fourni matiere de grevance au peuple durant les regnes precedans ne font contre la veritable interet de sa Majesté, qui consiste a regner dans le cœur de son peuple, et tellement remouvoir tout sujet de jalousie que rien de ce costé-la n'empêche ses plus grands et dignes desseins d'ailleurs.

2. Si l'on peut juger que des personnes qui conseileroient au Roy de faire quelques desmarches au commencement de son regne qui sentissent ou parussent aprocher la conduite des derniers roys, et de leurs ministres

quant au dessein de l'arbitration plutot que de desmordre de leur pretention au manient des affaires, n'ont plus d'egard a leur propre intérêt qu'au ferme establisement du gouvernement de la Majesté.

3. Si la Majesté, en complimentant l'Ecoffe quant a quelques loix et coutumes introduittes depuis que la cour a formés des desseins auxquels elle n'auroit jamais pu parvenir, comme l'on soutient, qu'en foulant au pied les anciens privileges et droits du peuple ne se la rendroit plus utile a tous ses autres grands desseins qu'en les voulant maintenir, exciter la jalousie de cette nation.

4. Puis que le gouvernement d'Eglise exempt de ceremonies superstitieuses est une chose indifferante au jugement de beaucoup de bons Protestans, et qu'il est constant qu'en Ecoffe la plus part est pour le Presbiterien, hormis une partie de la noblesse, quy n'est Episcopale, que par des esgards d'intérêt purement temporel, si l'inclination du peuple ne doit estre la regle de ce point, ou la doctrine de salut, n'est nullement interessé, veu qu'un culte forcé n'edefie jamais les ames.

5. La partie meridionale d'Ecoffe, comme estant du tout attaché au presbiterienisme, (outre quelle est bien peuplée se trouve a presant armée et dans une espeece de discipline), parce que ses gens estoient les seuls a peu pres sur lesquels l'on pouvoit faire estat au commencement du changement qui s'est fait, s'il ne me semble plus pour le repos du royaume de les gratifier de ce point indifferant, que de les perdre pour gagner le parti contraire, quy a deja fait tout le mal dont il estoit capable, estant comme j'espere aux abois, et aparament se contentera, pourveu qu'on le mette a couvert des ressentimens de l'autre.

Lettre ecrite au Roy peu de temps apres la construction du Fort William.

SIRE, J'aye depeché l'Adjutant-General Hill pour informer vostre Majesté de l'estat de la guerre icy, et de ce que par l'assistance divine s'est avancé pendant cette campagne pour l'establisement de la paix de

ce royaume quoy que traversé, par tant des ennemis de son heureux gouvernement que de ceux qui en ont la principale direction, lesquels selon que j'ay pu remarquer tachent de rendre ineffectuels tous mes travaux, aussi bien qu'ils decroient tout ce que je faisois, témoin le peu de foin qu'on prend de secourir des choses nécessaires le fort que j'ai baty en Lochaber, appelé de son nom royal, comme la lettre du gouverneur le fait voir. J'avois proposée une personne de credit et d'honneur pour ne pas manquer à ses engagements, et d'affection pour avancer fidelement le service de vostre Majesté, et qui l'avoit exercée dignement l'année passé pour la charge de commissaire des vivres ; mais parce qu'elle y fust établie par le Duc d'Hamilton, et par une creature de ce ministère la proposition en fut rejetée, et par là je perdis au moins deux mois de temps avant que je pus porter le Commissaire à en établir du tout parmy eux, et étant établis sont tels dont l'ignorance et nonchalance, outre ce que le gouverneur du fort William dit de l'un, m'ont fourni assez d'embaras pour la subsistance des troupes, et sujet de plaintes au pais dont il les falloit prendre quand les mesures publiques y manquoient.

Enfin, Sire, par les démarches de ceux auxquels vostre Majesté fie la principale direction de ce royaume, j'aprehende qu'il ne s'y trouva qu'eux et leurs creatures, lesquels, selon le bruit comun, luy rendent cher leur service, qui s'efforceront d'avancer de bon cœur son service dans ce pais, tant ils en degoutent toute le monde par leur conduite.

Je suis fort persuadé, Sire, que ce n'est pas tant le retour d'un prince, confit à ce papisme et imbu des principes incompatibles avec ce que naturellement tout homme (hormis les esclaves de l'imposture) estime tant, sçavoir, la liberté temporelle et spirituelle, que les mécontents de ce royaume cherchent, mais plutôt de troubler le regne de vostre Majesté pour luy faire voir combien peu luy vaut au besoin le credit de ceux qu'elle employe. Il est vray, Sire, qu'il seroit fort à souhaitter qu'on servit une cause si juste et sainte par des principes plus chrétiennes ; mais si l'Ecosse, selon mon opinion, sans faire breche à la charité ne peut

guere fournir de cette trempe, et qu'il faile neceffairement que voftre Majesté y foit servie des personnes qui feront marcher leur propre intérêt de pair avec celluy de son service, qu'elle ayt la bonté de pardonner que je suis d'opinion que ce fust plustot des personnes de credit dans le royaume, et qui feroient honneur a leur caractère que de tels quy de le propre credit ne feroient pas capables de monter vingt chevaux a leur dos. Ceey foit dit avec profonde soubmission au jugement de voftre Majesté, le zelle pour son service, pour l'intérêt du protestantisme m'arachent, malgré moy, ces propos de la bouche, contre la resolution que j'avois souvent formé de m'en taire, trouvant que ce que j'en avois avancé de temps en temps auparavant trouva si peu de credit, quoy que tout bien conté. Si j'avois le jugement si éclairé, mon temoignage en meriteroit autant que d'aucun autre, et d'autant plus que je ne me proposois rien pour moy ni aucun mien par le changement. Quand voftre Majesté done aura des informations plus particulieres d'autres avis, elle pourra, si elle le juge de son service faire reflexion sur ce que luy en dit une personne qui, devant Dieu, n'y prend point d'autre intérêt que celluy de son service, et le repos de ce royaume, aussy bien que de ses autres estats, en forte que dorenavant elle employe ses armes non pas tant pour y affermir son gouvernement, mais plustot pour ebranler et renverser les colonnes de l'impiété antichrétienne.

Sire, Je prens la liberté, avec profonde soubmission, de vous recommander mon neveu, Major de Livingston. Elle scait que la lieutenance-collonele de ce regiment luy estoit due, premierement, parce qu'elle la luy decerna pour les preuves de zelle et d'affection qu'il avoit donné pour son service, par une longue et rude prison, plustot que de vouloir l'engager contre les intérêts de voftre Majesté, étant mal informé de ce traître de Livingston, que je croiois plus capable de disposer les dragons au service, ayant servy quelques années parmy eux que mon neveu, qui leur estoit jusques la étranger ; et, en second lieu, lorsque cette charge vauqua par la trahison du dit Livingston depuis ce temps la. Sire, tant

P'en faut qu'il ait fait quelque chose pour moindrir la consideration de vostre Majesté pour luy, qu'au contraire il n'y a pas un fujet en Ecoffe quy luy a rendu plus de service, quant a agir contre ses ennemis, non seulement d'avec le regiment ou il a données des preuves de son courage et discretion, tant aux occasions qu'en travaillant avec bon succes pour gagner l'affection des dragons pour son service, mais aussi en armant aussi souvent qu'il en recevoit mes ordres depuis que je suis icy, les gens de son pais, pour oposer les ennemis, et venir a mon secours lorsque j'en avois bien besoin, même a l'expédition de Lochaber, ou il mena 400 hommes, montagnards des mieux, faits et appointés de tout le royaume, et quy me furent si utiles que les troupes manquant de vivres auroient est reduites a des grandes extremités sans eux, outre qu'ils me servirent luy a leur teste de grande feureté a la marche pour faire la decouverte dans ces pais plains des passages et defilles inaccessibles a nos gens pesamment armées et habillies. Enfin, Sire, si je ne le reconnoissois personne de discretion, de courage, et d'affection inefbranlable pour le service de vostre Majesté, temoin d'avoir persisté tant dans son zelle pour l'avancer, même depuis qu'on luy a donnée cette espreuve un peu mortifiante pour une jeunesse genereuse que d'avancer un autre peu doué pour cette charge a ce qu'il pretendoit de droit, aussi bien que de qualité et d'intérêt dans le pais assez pour meriter sa faveur royale, je n'en aurois pas ouvert la bouche.

Le porteur est aussi une personne fort capable de servir vostre Majesté dans ce pais, en ayant atteint d'assez justes idées par tout depuis qu'il me sert d'assistant, et surtout il seroit propre pour les dragons, ayant servi long temps parmi la cavallerie, et entendant, en même temps, ce quy est necessaire de l'infanterie. Et comme le bien du service m'oblige de luy représenter ceux quy en sont capables et si attachent avec zelle, le Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan merit que vostre Majesté luy donne une meilleure poste, et Fergusson seroit bien plus capable de commander le regiment de Lauder que Balfour, s'il y avoit moyen d'accommoder

celluy-cy autrement qui ne pourra guere plus fuporter les fatigues de la campagne, eftant incommode d'un mal qui femble incurable depuis fa prifon.

J'ay envoyé au Comte de Portland un racourci de ce qui s'eft paffé icy depuis le paffage de voftre Majefté en Irlande, et l'ay prié de m'obtenir de fa bonté royale congé de paffer cet hyver en Hollande aupres de ma petite famille, dont je fuis feparé a prefant deux ans paffés. Le Collonel Livingfton s'eft aquis plus de connoiffance de ce fervice que Ramfay, l'ayant employé beaucoup de temps pour commander les troupes au nord en mon abfance, quoy que tous deux de fort bons officiers, et zelles pour fon fervice fans aucun biais, mais comme le premier eft tellement abattu d'une maladie qu'il gaigna en Lochaber que difficilement il en echapera, et qu'au mieux aller il ne fera de tout cet hyver en eftat de vaquer au fervice, je feray d'avis que voftre Majefté deferaft le commandement a Ramfay avec brevet de brigadier, eftant le premier collonel de fervice icy. Si voftre Majefté aura le bonté, comme je n'en puis pas douter, de me donner le dit congé, je luy laifferay des inftructions generalles pour la direction, avec copies de mes ordres, dont il fera inftruit de mes methodes felon la nature de cette guerre, dont j'efpere que les plus grandes difficultés font paffés.

Sire, il y a quelques jours qu'eftans au pais d'Atholl, j'y rencontray le Marquis de ce nom. Il tachoit de s'excufer de tout cedont je fufpectois fa conduite de l'année paffée, rejettant le tout fur l'infidelité d'un fien Bailly, auquel il avoit fié le commandement de fon pais; mais quoy qu'il en foit, Sire, je trouve qu'il feroit d'importance au fervice de voftre Majefté qu'on l'y attafchat tout de bon, eftant capable tant des fies propres vaffaux eftimées des plus braves de tous les montaignards d'Ecoffe que de la famille de Lovet fon gendre, fur lesquels il auroit influence d'atirer de fon côté pres de 3000 montaignards qui vaudroit plus a voftre Majefté que trois regiments de nouvelles levées; fi bien que fi cette conquête fe pouvoit faire a raifon d'une honnefte pen-

sion, elle apporteroit une grande feureté a ces affaires icy, et feroit un coup mortel au desseins montagnards. Or, en cas que vostre Majesté goute cet avis, il faudroit le mander aupres d'elle, veu que je ne voy pas qu'il pense d'y aller, non plus que le Duc d'Hamilton selon qu'on me dit, n'ayant pas veu celluy-cy depuis mon retour du nord. J'ay peu d'ajouter d'avantage a celle-cy, qui n'est que trop longue deja, mais son service l'excusera, reservera donc le reste a un memoire que je donneray a Hill.

J'imploreray le souverain Roy des roys et le grand Dieu des armées qu'il conserve la personne sacrée de vostre Majesté comme un autre Josué fusité par sa providance divine si opportunement comme a point nommé pour la delivrance de son Israel, proscript et destiné a ruyne par les ennemis de sa verité, et fasse suivre a ces armes cette glorieuse campagne de tant d'autres, que la beste et tous ceux quy luy presentent leur puissance soient portés par terre, qui seront toujours les fidelles pierres de celluy qui fera toute sa vie, malgré tous les efforts des enfers, Sire, de vostre Majesté, &c.

Si vostre Majesté n'avoit d'autres affaires sur les bras que le soin de ses propres estats, il y auroit moyen de dompter tous mescontans et rebelles, et de tenir bridés par des garnisons et nombres des troupes; mais puisque toute l'Europe protestante ne respire que l'heureux moment de la voir en repos chez elle, a fin de pouvoir tourner au plustot ses armes du costé de sa delivrance, il seroit a souhaitter que ces troubles domestiques s'appaisassent tellement que jamais l'envie ne revienne plus a ces rebelles de reprendre les armes contre son autorité, quand même l'occasion s'en presentat favorable; et pour y parvenir il n'y auroit point de plus effectuel moyen que d'en commencer le dessein par Milord Athol, lequel pourroit servir d'outil outille pour gagner les autres, car les travaux de cet esté les y disposent, aussy bien qu'ils ont establi la reputation de ces armes parmi eux, en forte que tout ce que vostre Majesté voudroit consentir en leur faveur a present fera tenu comme des effets de sa pure bonté royale.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 4 Novembre 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MONSIEUR, Par la vostre du 25 du passée vous me mendaftes que le Roy m'avoit accordé mon congé pour l'aller trouver a Londres, et me fites esperer de pouvoir passer l'hyver en Hollande, me promettant, en même temps, d'envoyer au premier une commission pour celluy qui doit commander les troupes icy, et puisque vous me nomastes Monsieur Sir Thomas Livingston comme la personne destinée pour cett employe, et que Ramfay s'en estant allarmé s'en va avec moy a Londres, et que d'abondant Milord Craford me dit que le boite noire fut rompue la dernière fois, scavoir, les lettres du 30 passé apprehendant que mes dépeches n'en fussent etées, je suis resolu d'attendre les lettres du premier courant, et puis s'il n'en vient point, je conclus que mes lettres ont esté interceptés, et m'en iray avec le Colonel Ramfay, pour laisser Livingston au commandement selon le dessein du Roy. Je fais cecy, Monsieur, pour ne pas manquer l'occasion du passage du Roy en Hollande, estant persuadé qu'il aura resolu des affaires de ce royaume avant que je puisse estre a Londres, dont je n'auray point d'autre regret que celluy du service de sa Majesté, qui se trouve a presant en fort bon train, et apparemmant continueroit de même, pourveu que le Roy tombat sur un bon choix de personnes desintéressées et cherchant l'avancement du service plus que de leurs familles pour l'administration de ce pais, qui est plus capable de mal que de bien. Ceux qui ne se forment pas des idées assez avantageuses de leur deliverance du papisme crient tout haut qu'on est plus foulé par les ministres qu'on n'a jamais esté par leurs predecesseurs, voicy les cris comuns, je puis dire en gros que tout ce que le Roy a reçu encore pour toutes les concessions au Parlement, ne monte qu'a deux mois de gage de huit qu'on conte depuis le commencement de cette dernière cession du dit Parlement pour les troupes foldoyés en Ecosse, et environ peut-estre sept a huit milles livres sterling qu'on dit que le Fort William aura couté en louage des vaisseaux,

planches, et autres materiaux, et au lieu de payer l'armé, ainſy qu'on l'appelle, elle eſt fix mois en arriere plus a preſant qu'elle n'eſtoit au mois de Mars, dont le pais fait bien du bruit, ayant payé tout ce qu'on luy demanda, et toutes fois ſe trouvant toujours ſoulé des troupes ſans payes. Je le juge, Monſieur, de mon devoir de vous avertir de ces choſes, dont ceux qui voudront faire valoir leurs ſervices auront garde de faire mention, et ce que j'en diſ tant peut l'aſſurer que ce n'eſt pas malice, mais pour qu'on l'examine, et remédie a l'avenir. Eſperant donc l'honneur de vous voir bientôt, je ſuis, Monſieur, voſtre tres-humble et tres-obeiſſant Serviteur, &c.

Par ma derniere je vous ay mandé ce que j'avois decouvert du ſujet du parti qui croit avoir donné tant de preuves d'affection et fidelité au ſervice de leurs Majeſtés qu'il n'y a aucun lieu d'en douter, et quand vous ſcaurez, Monſieur, que je n'ay nul autre egard en vous avertiſant de ce quy parvient a ma connoiſſance, et que je croy de l'interêt de ſa Majeſté quelle le ſache que le bien de ſon ſervice, et le deſir de voir tout en repos dans ces royaumes, a ſin qu'eſtant debaraffé des troubles domeſtiques, elle ayt le moyen de travailler a la deliverance de l'Egliſe de celluy qui luy en a reſervé la gloire, comme j'eſpere. Vous ſerez facilement perſuadé que tout ce que je diſ ſur ce ſujet eſt tout a fait degagée d'aucune partialité ou regard propre ou particuliere, car je prens hardiment Dieu a temoin que je ne voudrois pas conſentir de propos deliberé a rien qui fuſt prejudiciable au ferme eſtabliſſement du gouvernement de leurs Majeſtés et de la vraye religion, pour les plus grands avantages que je me puiſſe figurer au monde. Apres ces proteſtations, donné d'un cœur qui ne voudroit pas ſe rendre coupable d'une diſſimulation ſi criminelle, je croy qu'on ne tiendra pas pour ſuſpect ce que j'en ecris.



## APPENDIX.



## LETTERS RELATIVE TO MILITARY AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND IN THE YEARS 1689 & 1690.

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### 1. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE KING FOR MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

You are to command our forces that are to be in Scotland, and you shall take the advice and assistance of the Lord Melvill, to whom Wee have given instructions to that effect.

You shall strengthen the regiments sent from hence for Scotland to number of marching foot in each company; and if you finde necessity, you shall levey more regiments; and if the occasions that may occur admitt not of a delay, you shall give commissions to officers that are to levey or command them.

If the Castle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former orders, you shall treat for the rendering of it; and if you finde need, you shall give assurance of indemnity to the Duke of Gordon, Lev<sup>t</sup> Collonell Windrome, and \_\_\_\_\_ to whom Wee have already sent passes and protections; and you shall give such other gratifications to such as you see convenient, that the Castle may be put in the hands of confident persons, both commander and souldiers. You shall doe the like for the Castle of Dunbarton.

If you finde that there will be a formed party againſt the kingdome and our intereſt, or a breach, or ane invaſion, you ſhall ſecure ſuch perſons as ſhall be the cheif movers therein, and ſeaſe upon ſerviceable horſes and armes, and ſhall call to your aſſiſtance all the well affected to religion, liberty, our intereſt, and the Nations ſafety.

## 2. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE KING FOR THE LORD MELVILL.

You are to concurr in advice and direſtion in matters of war with the Commander in Cheife of our forces, in ordering theſe that are levyed, or in levying more if it be founde convenient; and if the occaſions may not admitte of delay, that he, with your advice, give commiſſions to the officers who ſhall levey or command them.

If there be neceſſity to ſecure perſons, that the Commander in Cheif doe the ſame with your advice.

If the Caſtle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former letters, you ſhall treat for the rendering of it, and give aſſurance of indemnity, if need bee, and ſuch other gratifications, to the Duke of Gordon and others, as you ſhall ſee fit; and that you doe the like as to the Caſtle of Dumbarton, and that you put theſe Caſtles in the hands of confident perſons both as to commanders and ſouldiers.

If you finde that there will be a formed party, or a breach, or ane invaſion, the Commander in Cheif, with your advice, ſhall ceaſe upon ſerviceable horſes and armes, as you ſee neceſſarie for the publick ſafety; and in that caſe, that he call all ſuch as you know to be well affected to religion and liberty, and to the intereſt of the Nation, to concurr with him in arms. Given at our Court at Hampton this 7th day of March 168<sup>8</sup>.

WILLIAM R.

## 3. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

*Holyroodhous, 1 June 1689.*

This morning I received the inclosed from General M<sup>c</sup>Kay, and did communicate it to the Lords of the Privie Counsell, who advifed the sending of itt by a flying packet to your Lordship to be communicate to his Majestie, and likeways resolved on securing in prifson the Lords Tarbat and Lovat; for on what the General Major has write, they thought they could do no les. Wee all conclude His Majestie has ajurned the Parliament, having had no directions about itt, and the Members certainly beleiving his Majestie wold grant the desire of their letter. I beleive very few will be here the 5 of June. This morning a serjeant, a corporall, and the 3 foldiers made their escape out of the Castle; they inform that garifon is in good condition still, and that the bombs had done litle hurt there, but spoiled the roome where the Registers lays, and prejudged them. All our new troops are ordered to march into Perthshire to be nearer the orders and derections of the Major Generalls Mackay and Laneir, the last being now at Perth.—I am, your Lordship's most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

## 4. [LORD MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.]

*Blair, June 4, 1689, 12 at Night.*

May it please your Grace,

Having writt in my last that I intended to goe out of this country yesterday, I think fitt to acquaint your Grace that I staide, on information that Dundee was marching this way to meet the party commanded by Ramsay, which, if he doe before they joine M<sup>c</sup>kai, I am afraid it goe hard

with them, and if Dundee gett the better, its too probable that many in this country, as well as in other places, woud run in to him, tho it were for nothing els but in hopes of plundering, to hinder which, and to stop Dundee's passaige if he shoud attempt to make a retreat thro this country, has made me stay and convene the country about for that end, which is thought no small matter, confiddering the humours I found them in : above 300 of the best men in Atholl had trysted to joine Dundee that day I came here, having been constantly invited to it by many agents ; particularly the Laird of Strouan had receaved a letter from Dundee requiring him to joine him (having commiffion as the King's Livetenant Genneral) with all his men and clan ; accordingly he had advertifed his own men, and had ufed his endeavour to gett alfo many of my fathers that were of his name to doe the fame who were too far ingaged in it, but fo soon as I came to the country I writt to him that I was informed that he had ufed his endeavours to entice my father's men from their maffer's service, which if he did not immediatly come and difown he might expect I woud treat him as fuch bye methods deserved ; on which he is come here, and having promifed never to offer to take any fuch methods hereafter, but to joine himself and his men with me and my father's, which he has now done, and fo I have paffed it over, as I was forced to doe with many others that were too farr engaged, otherwife they had generally broke away, but now I think I may fay they will not, without it be here and there fome loofe men that have nothing to lofe out of hopes of plunder ; I have alfo engaged the lairds of Weem, Afhuntily, and Glenlyon and Fafcaly to joine with the Atholl men, which they are all very well fatisfied to doe, for they can gett them much fooner to take that cours then any other, and they were all breaking out to Dundee, and only waited till the Atholl men went, for here the weaker dare not take conterar courfes to the ftronger leaft they shoud deftroy their goods and country ; this is fo true that I am certainly informed that our neighbours, the Badenoch men, tho they belong to the Duke of Gordon, woud never rife with Dundee, tho he has been all this while in their country for fear of the Atholl

men, who, if they should not joine too, woud destroy their country when they were away, so that Dundee has been forced to burn their houses and take their goods ; to save which some are gone to him, but the most part have not, but are now lying in the mountains with wives and children in a most pitifull condition, and that country is quite ruined. My Lord Dundee is still there, not farr from the Castle of Ruthven, which he has burnt, and the small garison was put in it by M<sup>k</sup>kai, did surrender, their lives being saved ; M<sup>k</sup>kai, and he were within 2 miles yesterday morning, M<sup>k</sup>kai always retiring as he advanced towards, and encamping in strong ground, so that Dundee could never attack ; it seems M<sup>k</sup>kai has been waiting for more forces, which I doubt not but will now have joined him, or els Dundee has mett with the party went this way. I expect to heare an accompt every hour, having sent severall to wait Dundee's motions least he surprise this country againe ; if he be far from it I intend, if please God, to goe from this to-morrow after I have settled a garison here. I had sent for some of the chief men in my interest in Balquhider to be here this day, who I was informed had been tampered with to make them rise with Perth's men, but they have engaged the conterar, but assures me that a Chamberlain of the Earle of Perth's, called Creichton, went privatly thro his interest, in Strathern, above Drummond, taken a particular list with the officer of all the fencible men in it ; your grace shall have the first certain accompt I gett if they engage, by an exprefs.

#### 5. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

*Holyroodhous, 8 June 1689.*

YEASTERNIGHT I received your lordships of the 4th instant, with one to Generall Major Mackay, I did the same night send one to the west to dispatch some to Irland for intelligence, and write tuo severall ways to the captans of our ships to go to the coast of Irland to cruze there, and give the best account they could if there was any appearance of an inva-

sion from thence, which, I am confident, there is little fears of, if it be not by the French fleet, and it's very strange if they can be able to come to our coasts and land men, if there be an English and Dutch fleet at sea as you write, but if they should be able to land any considerable force we should be in an ill condition, considering how disaffected all the north is, and if we should absolutely with all his forces recall Mackay before he disperses or beats Dundee, all that country generally, lowlands as well as highlands, would be in arms with him, so, upon communicating your letter to the Council this morning, they thought it not fit absolutely to recall him, but leave it much to himself, and desired him to send any of the English horse that is with him to the west country, where they can be best provided with horse meat, and most of our own new levied horse we intend should go there also, and some regiments of our foot lay there and about Stirling, the rest being in St Johnston, Dundie, and about this place, beside what is with Mackay, from whom we have not heard since what I sent you. The inclosed from my Lord Murray being the last news we have, which when you peruse it, you will see he has done the king good service in these countries; I have likewise sent you a letter directed to your son, all I can add to it is, that he is a very notable boy brought it, and says Londonderry was in a good condition when he came away to hold out for some time, but the letter I sent you from Captain Rooke is since he came away. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

#### 6. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

*From the head of Strathpey,  
the 13th June, 1689.*

My Lord,

Since I find that there are some apprehensions of invasion from Ireland, I will dispose myself for the south with a part of the forces I have here by

me, which join'd me but within feu dayes : the rebels are enter'd Lochaber againe, where I judg'd it not for the service to follow them, because here ther is no good wayes to be furnished over all with provisions, and without them no regular body of forces can subsist together ; I leave Colonel Levingston and Sir James Leslie with their regements in and about Inverness, with two hundred of my Lord Levis till they be releev'd by three companies of Leslies which are cumming down from Berwyck. I can assure your Lordship had I not been here to oppose the rebels these two tymes they descended since my north cumming, that the most parte benorth Tay had been by this tyme in open rebellion against his Majestie and the present government ; what shall now be the turn of affaires when I goe south, I cannot as yet judge, but I hop God will compleet the delivrance which he hath wrought this far for his oppressed people, and make the reigne of our present souverains abound in prosperitie and peace ; I judge that it may be prejudiciall for the present service, that their is no fond of money in Scotland, at least for the punctuall payment of his Majesties forces upon the English foot ; withall the officers not receiving payment of a long tyme occasions som grumblings among them, which your Lordship may take your own way to represent. I sent the party of my Lord Colchester's regiment of hors south already ; the officers and troopers are very well affected to the service, but they lost many horses, which I hop his majestie will consider, for, though ther hath been no great bloodshed, they have don good service, to be of the number of litle more than 400, which, by God's direction, brock the mesures of a disaffected numerous people, and 200 of those discover'd after to be partly infected and corresponding with our enemys, not to us, therefor but to God (who hath hitherto blessed the juste arms of our souverains) be the praise ; if assistance from Ireland could be hinder'd, I question not but those Highlanders wold soon weary of it, but so long as they have any hops of that, they will not be so fond of propositions, because they will judge themselves in bad circumstances with the present government by what they have don already ; the Marquis of Athole doth not play faire, for his countrey is

very difaffectedly difpofed. I hop you fhall take mefures to keep from us fuch as might augment our troubles. Tarbat hath not don in my oppinion neither what he ought and could doe, neither among his own relations or others with whom he had great credit. I am fill of oppinion that an act of indemnitie wold doe much to quiet the fpirit of fuch as feare after reckonings; a great parte of the Lord Lovet's men have been with the rebells at this tyme in all the north, I know of no familys wee can make ftate on, except my Lords Strathnaver, Reay and Forbes, with the laird of Grant, and a gentleman of the name of Gordon intituled Edinglaffie, fhirif of the fhire of Bamf, is very forward and zealous for the prefent government: I will effay Locheyl yet ons, though I have no great oppinion of his fincerity; ther hath been a flying report this day as if fom veffels were cum to Inderlochy, but no affurance as yet thereof; your Lordship may reft fully affured that by the ftrenth of the Moft High, (in whom I trust and not to my own underftanding or direktion) that I fhall do faithfully as before God, all that lyes in mee for th' advancement of their Majefties fervice, and maintenance of the proteftant religion, without the leaft felf-regarde, having no other ambition, then the feeing of that intereft once well eftablifhed and fecur'd; I fhall ad no farther then that I am unfeignedly, my Lord, your Lordship's moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

#### 7. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

*Holyroodhous, 14 June, 1689.*

Since the laft I fent your lordship, from the Major Generall M'Kay, wee had none untill this directed to the Counfell which come late laft night, which gives a full account of his proceedings, fo I need ad nothing to itt but that the priffoners mentioned therein are not yett come, and that wee fhould defire to know as foon as poffible his Majeftie's pleafur

and directions as to them. Last night the Castle of Edinburgh was delivered up on capitulation by the Duke of Gordon, the copy of the articles that Sir John Lanier agreed on with him, and the Counsellors ratification thereof, is here inclosed sent. I have likewise sent your lordship the depositions of two men that are last come from Ireland, which are the latest news we have. Sir George M'Kenzie, late Advocate, is gone to England; I have sent you a letter he wrote me which I received after he was gone; he is a member of our Parliament, and it is thought strange he should have got the King's leave to go now when the Parliament is to meet, which is like to be a very thin meeting, and I should be glad to know the King's pleasure what he thinks fit shall be done as to those that absent, and will not come to the Parliament. I have written once or twice to your lordship since I heard from you; I intreat for particular answers to what is written to you by your Lordship's most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

8. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

*Inverness, 14 June, 1689.*

Being in haste when I wrote my last from the head of Strathspye, I forgot to mention the laird of Balnagowen, the chief of the name of Ross, who is a man of good following and hath testified all the zeal and forwardness which could be expected of the most and best affected for his Majesty's service and the present government; upon my desire the Committee of Estates did send him a commission of shrieve principal for the shire of Ross, and because I know that others who are neither so capable to do his Majesty's service nor to exercise that charge, will be putting in for it, I judged it expedient to advertise your lordship that he may be continued therein by his Majesty, it being an affront, instead of favour, which he deserves by his readiness to all things that I commanded him for his Majesty's service, if he should be put out. Next Seaforth he is the considerablest man in Ross for the matter of following, so I

pray your lordship may represent to the King that he may be continued, for non other can take so ill the not getting of it as he the being put out of the possession of it. I have sent to Lochaber to know what the rebels are a doing, they are seperat ons as my former did mention ; all the forces I had north after the junction of Ramsay and the two Engleish regements wold make litle more then 2000 men, and the combin'd Highlanders can make 3000, befides as many more that wold quickly joyn them if ons they had som advantage ; the Highlanders are absolutly the best untrained men in Scotland, and can be equal'd to our new levies though they were beter armed then they are, perticullarly those Highlanders we have in head ; I will neverthelesse labour to settle things so that the general interest of the service may be secur'd here, though I with a parte of the forsaide troupes goe south, but som perticullar men may cum to suffer, perticullarly the Laird of Grant, at whom they have a great prejudice, as well as at the rest of our friends, but he lyes the most exposed of all, but if the whole be saved, the perticular breaches may be easily made up. I shall be obliged to stay som few days here both that I may consider what places are most expedient to be takin in possession, and that the noise of my suddain march from this bring not the rebels so quickly together again to fall down upon these countreys, though I leave double the number of regular forces of what I had againt the same enemy ; so that I hop things may be well enough secur'd, if nothing cum from Ireland. God I hop will put a happy end to all, to his glory and the security of his salutary truth to us and our succeffours under the government of their Majesties and theirs. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

A place of security made at Inverlochy for a garison of 600 men, (which cannot be undertaken without former provision of things necessary, and six weekes sure tyme to end it,) wold, (with a small body of the lyck number at Inverness,) make those Highlands as peaceable as Muray.

## 9. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

*From Badenoch, a mile from  
the rebels camp, 1689.*

May it please your Grace,

I have received your Grace's, together with the letters of the Comitty ; but since my last things look more drumly here. My orders and directions to Ramfay have been intercepted in Athole, and the post imprisoned, till they advertisd the rebelled Highlanders of the said Ramfay's march ; wherevpon they, with the Lord Dundie, marched in all diligence to hinder his junction with me, of which though I could not be advertisd, yet, receiving an expres from Colonel Ramfay, signifeing his approach to Badenoch, I marched imediatly thither with the feu forces I had by me, affifted with som Highlanders, to the number in all of 700 men ; but at my approach I had notice from the garifon of Ruven, that Ramfay, upon the report of the Highlanders' march, was returned back, and that they were entered the Strath, that is, Dundee, Locheyl, Glengarie, Kepoch, and severall other lairds of fmaller following ; but of their number the reports was fo various by fuch as I imployed, that no ftate was to be made on them ; whervpon, finding that Ramfay was turned away from the way of Badenoch, I changed my march, and came in to the head of Strathfpey, thinking that he wold never venture to turn wholly back, knowing how much I preffed his march as neceffary for the fecurity of the fervice, but rather to take it lower, for feare of a greater power in his way ; but, after I had made a long tour of about thirtie myl, and marched 24 houres without halt, fo well to joyn him as to cover his march, (being advanced with in two mile of the ennemy, and betwixt them and him, if he had taken his march to Strathfpey, as I concluded, finding him to have changed from that of Badenoch,) this day I am from all partes of Strathfpey informed that ther is no word of his march in or about that countrey. It feems he hath taken the allarme too hot, for 'tis certain that he might have been at

Invernes before Dundie and his affociatts had touched the Breys of Badenoch ; for he was on the 24th neare Ruven, and that they enter'd Badenoch but the 26th. They allarmed him purposly in Athole, as I am informed. What raifon he might have propofed to himfelf for fuch a dangerous ftep as to change his fupperiour's orders, to the manifelt hazard of the quiet of [the] kingdom, I cannot tell. One thing I can affure your Grace, that his not joyning with mee hath extreamely alterd the face of affaires ; for otherwyfe I could eafily have beat or chaffed the rebels, without the leaft hazard of the fervice, being fortified with fuch a body of foot ; wheras now I finde them lodged where my hors can be of no value to me, and all the old foot wee have is but 200, fo that, without a manyfeste hazard to the fervice, I cannot refolve to attack them there, the more that they are, by all information I can get, confiderably the ftrongeft, which I wold not value if I could bring them to plain ground. The rebels expects the junction of the Athole, Mar, and Badenoch men, befydies Brad-Albin, Macdonald of the Ifles, Macleud, the Mackenzies, and Catneffe, if things goe favorably for them. I had almoft forgot the Fraifers, who refufed abfolutely to join with me, becaufe they had no commands from their chief, and that one Kinaris, a papift, (who, though otherwyfe a civill perfon, can't be trusted in this mater,) hath the greateft direction of his affaires. The Marqueffe of Athole might have don much to a prevented all this diforder, if he had been fo much for the Proteftant religion and the intereft of King William and Queen Mary, as his Lordfhip was pleafed to proteft more than once folemnly to mee. And I believe my Lord Tarbet doth not fo much as he fhould, either for difpofing well his own family, or other Highland chiefs, by whom his advyce is of great efteem. God forgive them all that wold bring in Popery and the violenteft of all perfecutions (French and Irifh) upon thefe nations. Now I have given your Grace a full detail of the ftate of affaires in the north. Befydies that litle good is to be expected of all benorth Tay, all the well-affected familys being in fmall numbers befydies the others, I am informed Mar's men have difobeyd his order to take arms for the Government. The 600 men un-

der Ramfay, if they had joyn'd me according to my order and direction, had prevented diforders which happily 10,000 men will have enough to doe to quiet, if they of the contraire party vnderstand to ferve themselves of the occafion. To remedie thofe diforders fo much as poffible, I have orderd north Sir James Leffly's regement of foot, and Berckley's of dragowns; therefore, if the ftate of affaires requires others in their place, your Grace may defyre Sir John Lanier to call for fo many. My oppinion is, that a good body be lodged at St. Johnfton, and another at Dundie, whereof a parte hors in both places; and that the hous of Blair of Athole be garifoned; for if they fhould offer to hold it out it may be forced by a pettard, wherof wee brought fom from England. When your Grace and the Convention fhall have read this leter, I pray you fend it to Court, that his Majeftie may fee how things ftands as they appeare to me at prefent, declairing before God that I have no prejudice againft any man, otherwyfe than that I cannot diffemble what I think amiffe of men's cariage in fuch a juft and chritian caufe, for which wee ought to efteeme it a happynes to facrifife all temporall confiderations freely and cheerfully. It is abfolutely my oppinion more forces fhould be without delay call'd down, and in fuch number that the declar'd as well as the diffembling difaffected difpair of a favorable fucces to their criminall defeyns; and fo long as the defigne of Ireland is not put in execution, they cannot be better imploy'd then to terrifie the ill affected here, and make them defpair of their hop. I am, may it pleafe your Grace, your Grace's moft humble and moft obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

I judge fitt that my Lord Leven's regement, with too troops of the new levies, be prefently fent to Dundie, till more forces can be pofted on that cuntry. This morning I had information from Inverneffe, that the Lord Lowet's men have his orders to joyn Clevers. What truth is in it

I cannot tell ; but 'tis not fit those Lords be permitted to joyn their men. If the heads be secured, the men will act but slowly.

*For His Grace my Lord Duke of Hamilton,  
President of the Convention of the Estates,  
Edinbrugh.*

#### 10. LORD MELVILL TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

18 Junij.

Between nyn and ten of the cloake last night at Hamptown Court, I received yours of the 14 instant by a flying packet, in which was a letter from Gen. Major Mackay to the Councell, a copy of the artickles between the Duke of Gordon and Sir John Lanier, with the Councells ratification, the depositions of two men from Irland, and a letter to the King, all which I caried immediatly to his Majestie. I was in hopes this day to have received his Majesties directions for answering severall particulars of your Graces letter, but he came from his closet in the morning streight to the City, wher I followed him, and have attended all day for an opportunity of speaking with his Majestie, but he was so much taken up in the Councell and threasury that I could not, only I put him in mind as he was going ; so soon as I shall receive his Majesties commands I shall signifie his Majesties pleasure as to the particulars you wrett off to your Grace. Befor I receaved your Graces letter, I knew not that Sir George Mackenzie had gott a pass.

His Majestie has given a commission appointing ten of the Lords of Councell and Session, a list quhairof is heir inclosed to your Grace. The comission is sent to my Lord Craford as precedent of the Parliament, he being apoynted to take ther oaths. I received ane letter from the Earl of Craford in name of the Counsell, relating to the sending of armes and amonitione, and to ane war with France ; to which I mead returne to his Lordship soe far as I received his Majesties command, &c.

## 11. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

*Elgin, 27th of June, 1689.*

The reason I stay'd so long in north is apparant, by what hath occurred since my coming hither ; first, if your Grace consider what small number of forces were in Scotland when I came north, consisting in the mater of 1200 foot I brought from England, Levingston's regiment of dragoons the mater of 180, proven since to be ill compos'd as to the most parte of officers, and scarcely as many of the Lord Colcester's regiment of hors, in all about 1560 standing forces, which was the occasion I came so slenderly accompanied. Your Grace knowes that I was resolv'd to stay but a fortnights away, having no other thought at that tyme, then to put the Lord Dundie from forming a party in the Duke of Gordon's countreys ; to which end, and that ther might be sure wayes lay'd for rendering his re-trait difficult to him, I order'd the Laird of Grant to departe presently for his countrey, to send men down Spey to hinder the said Lord's passage over to morrow, when my approach should allarme him ; I gave the same orders to my Lord Mar for the passages of his countrey, as also to the Marques of Athole for his ; Grant stay'd too long at Edinborg after my departure from thence ; Mar was taken with siecknesse, but what Athole's excuse may be (after his solemn protestations to me of his resolution to venture person and all for the Protestant religion, and the maintenance of the government under King William and Queen Mary) I know not, notwithstanding wee saw that no countrey in Scotland favour'd the rebels more than his Lordships did, not only by giving free passage to the Lord Dundie, and treating him and those of his party kindly, but also by seizing my posts and leters, and sending them to the ennemy to take his measures thereby. When then your Grace and the Council shall seriously consider (as I said before) the small number of sensible forces as then in

the kingdom, that benorth Tay (excepting a very feu familys which wold be forced to dryve with the streame) all was in a generall disaffection to the present government, and that I found presently a considerable beginning of a party formed in arms beyond my expectation, you may easily judge of the rest, if they had not met with present opposition, and if that snowball had rolled fourth and ingrossed (as doubtless it wold ad on very quickly) the levies which now are pretly well advanced, had been fruitlesse in many parts of the kingdom ; so much for the first Highland interprise ; at the second tyme their party was beter formed, and presumed upon my small number, the intelligence they had with my own people, and Ramsay's unfaisionable contremarch, which cannot, neverthelesse, be much blamed in him, finding my orders and directions to him intercepted, and knowing that whole cuntry of Athole to be ill-affected and ready to joyn with the ennemy. Of the rest of that affaire I gave your Grace and the Pryvy Councell account already, so that I conclude that the peace which the kingdom doth enjoy as yet, and which, with God's assilfance, we are able now to maintaine beter then at that tyme, may vnder God (whose work and direction it was) be attributed to the number of 450 regullar forces which I caryed north, whereof almost the half esteemed favourers of the ennemy more then of us, by the corruption of their officers, so that we may see by what small means God somtymes overturns great defeysns ; for I cannot persuade myself otherwayes than that this plot was forged at Edinburg, in the brains of men of greater interest and influence upon the Highlanders than the Lord Dundie, which, if it be, I wish God may detect so great a villanie, that by the punishment of a feu, the peace and happynesse of Britaine, in the enjoyment of their religion and libertys, may be establisshed, and if otherways, their innocencie may appear so that they may not rest under suspition, nor we sin in suspecting them if innocent. I had then after my return from Baidenoch to Inderness resolved to make som halt in the north, notwithstanding I had certain intelligence that Dundie had not above forty hors, and the mater of 3 or 400 foot with him, both that I might have fuller assurances of the names of Mac-

kenzie, Fraſer and Macpherſons, and knowing that the combyned Highlanders for the moſt parte lay ſo contiguous, that they could quickly gather vpon ſeu dayes advertiſment ; the forſaid names came to no final ingadgement with me, whereon I can lay any ſtreſſe according to my judgement, the moſt parte of their following conſiſting in Highlanders, whereof the heads of familys no more then Seaforth's brother came not neare mee, and though Redcaſtel, Coul, Tulloch, and others came, they fell not vpon final methods, but proteſted a great deale of affection for the cauſe, ſo far as their intereſt (which is ſmall in following, and of no good men for arms) can goe ; the name of Fraſer met, but in my oppinion are not to be much truſted, except their Lord were more throw ſtick, for when they had wryten two or three lynes of a generall anſwer to his leter, when I wold have it alter'd according to the coppie I ſend your Grace here incloſed, they reſuſed it ; my Lord Lovet directed his leter to three perſons, whereof one was actually with all the men he could make with Dundie the laſt tyme he was down the countrey, and the other two have neither conſiderable intereſt, following nor willingneſs, ſo that though they promiſed to fourniſh three hundred men vpon a call, I know not what ſtate can be made vpon them ; and the Macpherſons who ſtented their country to furniſh two hundred men to the ennemy againſt me, have given me no aſſurances. Notwithſtanding, (being vncertain of maters in Ireland, and at ſea, and judging ſo well by the Lord Secretary's leter as your Graces, that ther was ſom apprehenſions of invaſion in the weſt of Scotland, or at leaſt that men were not ſo punctually informed of maters there as need were,) I reſolved to leave Colonel Levingſtoun and Colonel Leſlie with their regiments, and the detachments of Levin and Haſtings, in the north, which make a 1000 men in all, and to goe ſouth with the eight hondert foot detached out of our three regiments, and Berckleys dragoons. Befydes the 1000 men at Inverneſſe, I left a garifon at Braan and Cultayleud of a 100 men each, of my Lord Reays and Balnagowen's men, vnder a Captain and Lieutenant each honder, the Captain 4th. a day, and the Lieutenant 2th. and 6 pence for each ſouldier ſo long

till they be discharged, for which I promised to obtain precept from your Grace, which I pray your Grace may be sent upon Baillie Duff for two months, that they shall be in pay the 8 July nixt. Ther was of my Lord Reay's men about 400 when the Highlanders came down laft; of my Lord Strathnavers' men, with the fix companies of his regiment, ods of 600, (whereof 398 belonging to his regiment,) and of Balnagowen's men 300, all those supply men were sent away at my return, (excepting such as belonged to my Lord Strathnavers' regiment,) and had only som meal allowed them vpon the publike account, but the 200 of Mackay and Balnagowen were with mee in the hills, and still since I came north.

Now, being cum the length of this town, where I was to take the detachment of the 3 regiments, and the dragowns of Berckley, which I sent a fortnight agoe to Strathboggy in my way, I had this morning the inclosed letters from Colonel Levingston, the Lord Strathnaver and Balnagowen, which I find not strange, having allwayes suspected, that upon my motion southward they would draw together again; now I find myself obliged to expect the certaintie of this somewhere hereabouts, to the end I may not loose the fruit of all my former labour, (though, I thank God for it, wee are now better provided for their interprifes then when I came north,) for certainly, notwithstanding of the obliging measures I take with all men, I find as much raifon to doubt of men as ever before, if they found the occasion favorable. I have wryten severall tymes, so well to to your Grace as to the officers commanding the forces in my absene, that my opinion was, that more forces should be sent to Argyles shire, which wold divert the combined Highlanders from falling so troublefom to the north; for here they expect the most formidable party, as certainly they have the greatest number of favours in these norther shires, who doe not believe there are so many forces on foot in Scotland, since nothing appears against the rebels but the small party I had with me before the junction of Ramfay and the two English regements: Nor yet doth it appeare but small, since nothing els makes head against them. It is therefore my opinion, to your Grace and the Privy Council, (to which his Ma-

jestie refers himself much as to the direction of matters in this kingdom) that a body of eighteen hundred foot, and a hundred and fiftie hors, or a hundred at least, (comprehending the forces which might be sent there already, whereof I am uncertain) be commanded to the foresaid shire, not counting Argyle's own regement, which will be of no greater use then I find my Lord Strathnavers and Grants here in their own countreys, unarmed and undisciplined, which body will keep those Highlanders at home; and if they should venture a march to the north, shall fall in and destroy their countreys. It will moreover be a bridle to Athole's and Braidalbin's countreys, and well posted to march quickly, and help to oppose a landing in any place in Scotland where wee may have greatest apprehension, and the ennemy greatest appearance of effectuating it. A considerable body in the north cannot so quickly joyn for such an opposition, but that in Argyles shire can in few dayes march to any place in the west. The foresaid body ought to be of the new levies, of the best armed, and most advanced in discipline. I believe my Lord Anguse's regement wold doe well there; for I find, by experience, that neither the English nor Scots strenger troopes can subsist upon meal and other victuals, which can be furnished for such occasions, as the men of the country, and such as are newly levied. There must be a provisor sent with them who shall have care to get the meal furnished without fail, see it distributed and shortned of their pay; as also to distribut flesh three or four days a-week, according to the same method. Ther ought also order to be sent to Baillie Duf at Inderneffe, colectour of the accyse, as well as of the revenues of the crown lands in Rosse, to have meal in magazin at Inderneffe, and to deput a man along with the forces, to answer to the government for the distribution thereof to the forces, and that it be duly shortned of their pay, to the end the troupes be regularly provided, whereby the service may be advanced, and the government be at no losse theireby. And that those provisors, with their deputs, may doe the service diligently and cheerfully, they ought to have some allowance for their pains; few men now a dayes being so disintrested as to doe their duty upon a principle of conscience,

without self regarde. Your Grace and the Privy Councell, in my opinion, should presently appoint a commity of the councell to weigh those considerations, and being found necessary for the safety and peace of the kingdom, order the present putting them in execution. To the committy might be joyned Sir John Lanier and the Brigadier Balfour, to heare their advice of matters; for if the Rebels move down again, as the letters which I send here inclosed seem to import, I cannot, without exposing the north, leave it, notwithstanding that I believe I might be of some use there. There ought also, during these troubles, horses to be appointed at Bruntjland, Dundie, Montros, Aberdene and so to Inverness, upon the publick charges, for the quick passage of the expresses, which would be of finall charges and great use. The same method ought to be used for all places where a considerable part of the forces are posted, otherways orders and advices are very uncertain and longsom, whereby the service may run a notable hazard. As to the officers I sent south, in my opinion they cant but be guilty; and all what is of the matter, the dragowns, who, by their own confession, deserve death, know it in all appearance, particularly Provensal, who was the Lieutenant Colonel's servant and serjent for many years. It were necessary that fellow, with the other dragowns, were put to the torture, and Lieutenant Murray deserves it by the confession of the serjent and one of the dragowns. If torture be just in any case it is in this; and since law allows it, why should it not be used in a matter so essentiall to the service, and of such a pernicious consequence if it had taken intended effect. It is for the service it were soon discussed, and well affected officers placed vpon the head of those men, who in that case, I am persuaded, will doe the service well. If your Grace desires I be south, let the forces mentioned be quickly dispatched to the west Highlands; and then, when I am there, I shall help to take measures for the further settlement of the peace of the kingdom. I have, in the mean tyme, order'd som meal in magasin at Inverness, and caused secure all the meal at Castel Gordon, (where the Duke's men kept garison hitherto against the government) as well as at Strathbogy, for the forces, if occasion be

for it. I beg your Grace may let me quickly know what shall be resolved vpon this information and advyce of, May it please your Grace, your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I pray your Grace, after communication to the Privy Council, that this leter may be sent to court by a flying packet; because I can't possibly wryt many such long accounts of matters. A coppie may be kept of it if your Grace and the counsell think it of vse for your mesures.

This inclosed I got presently from Cluny Macpherson, chief of that Clan, which I send your Grace. I believe that he is not ill inclined, and will cum to his duty, though feare made them stand of hitherto.

12. THE KING TO DAVID EARL OF LEVEN AND MAJOR  
GENERAL MACKAY.

WILLIAM R.

Right trusty and welbeloved Coufin and Councillor, and right trusty and welbeloved Councillor, Wee greet you well. Whereas, Wee understand that divers of our subjects, especially in the North and West Highlands in that our ancient Kingdome being disaffected, doe daily associate themselves in open Rebellion against Us, and being informed that the generality of them are misled by a few persons who are the Cheifs or heads of the severall Clanns. And Wee being willing and desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, and, if possible, by all gentle means, to reduce our said subjects to their due obedience; Therefore Wee doe hereby Authorise and require you forthwith to use your best endeavours to effectuate the same; and in order thereunto to capitulate with those who are judged the Cheifs and Heads of the Clanns, or Leaders of any Parties now in armes against Us, Giving them assurance of our gracious pardone, if in

due time (prescribed to them by you) they submit themselves to our mercy, and give surety for the future to demean themselves as loyal subjects. As also you are to make them such offers and proposals as shall be communicated to you by George Lord Melvill our Secretary of State for that our Kingdome, whose letters to you anent the premises, Wee require you to observe and rely upon as from our selfe. And so Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Hampton Court, the 10<sup>th</sup> day of July 1689, and of our Reigne the first year.

By his Majesties command,

MELVILL.

*To our right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and  
Councillor David Earle of Leven, and our right  
trusty and welbeloved Councillor Major Generall  
Mackay, Commander in chief of our Forces in  
our ancient Kingdom of Scotland.*

### 13. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

*Edinbruch, the 20th July 1689.*

The Master of Forbes, who since my going north hath given singular proofs of his great zeale and affection for their Majesties' service, hath represented unto me, that during the two late reigns the Duc of Gordon hath got from my Lord Forbes his father the superiority of a great many of his own and his friends lands, which the said Lord parted with rather then be in disputes with the said Duc, in a tyme when he himself and his famly were look'd down upon, as not ready in all things to comply with the desires of those tymes; therefor since the said Dukes lyf and fortune are at his Majestie's pleasure, he judgeth it not unbecomming to labour by a marck of his Majesties favour, (which I can assure your Lordship he deserves as much as any I know in Scotland,) to have the superiority of

all his own and his friends lands which doe hold of the Duke of Gordon, to the end he may be in better capacity to appeare more formidable for their Majesties service; which consideration, with the credit to deppend of none but the king, is the only raifon of his folicitation, and my earnest intreaty that your Lordship, (when the King in his own tyme may judge fit to restore the Duke of Gordon and pardon his former faults,) would have the goodnesse to order maters so that his Majestie may gratifie so worthie a perfon with the grant of so raifonable a demande, which is more for his Majesties service then any advantage to him, for it will not be ten pieces yearly in his pocket. I with the Duke of Gordon's famly well becaufe of an ancient friendship betwixt it and ours, but I prefer such as are zelous for the Protestant interest, and the advancement of my masters service, (of which I may call myself now a competent judge, having tried the puls of most men in the north,) to any consideration of perticullar friendship. It is a thing in the King's hand, and which he may doe with all the justice in the world, and will not lessen the Duke of Gordon's estate, and you know, my Lord, that it is fit such persons as venture freely and cheerfully lyf and fortune for his Majestie's service should receive som marks of his royall favour, perticullarly when it can be don at so cheap a rate. I find this parliament not lyk to jump with the intentions of the king. I believe their greatest grudge is at my Lord President of the Session and his son for ought is pretended as yet, for som of them have been speaking to me of the mater. The Lord Advocat and your son the master have this evening been consulting with me, whether to evit one of two inconveniences, (that is to cheque his Majestie's choice of ministers, or to hinder the settlement of the kingdom in civil and church government,) it were not necessary that his Majestie should bestow something upon Duke Hamilton, which might attach him wholly to his Majestie's interest, who certainly if he be faithfully informed, will never streik or scru up the royall prerogative beyond the just limits established by law. But 'tis not fit nor saf he should pairt with what the law provydes him to. The most new levied forces are of the

west countreys, and those who are contrairie to their principles, and apprehend the rigour of their government, wee have no great raifon as yet to lay much fresse on ; therefor if the Commiffioner can remove difficultys betwixt the King and his parlement, I thinck a good charge should be well bestowed upon him, and if thereafter he should not be found fo serviceable, the King is always master of his favours. For certainly there is a great inconvenience, in my oppinion, to be expected from proroguing the parlement without fetling either of a church government or a Coledge of Justice, and no lesse from continuing of them in a crosse humour. How far their pretensions doe confist with law I am ignorant of, but one thing I believe, that if this parliament, by a mutinous disposition of som leading members, should obtain their end, it might prove of bad example ; but certainly if they had right on their fyde it were worthie the greatnesse of the King to give their clame a favourable hearing ; therefor, my Lord, I pray you to have a speciall care his Majestie be put upon nothing that may seeme to be a ground of asperſion to the ennemys of his government, for his Majestie is supposed, by such as appear againſt his instructions, a stranger to your constitutions ; and though, in my judgement their hates and delays of the maters of greateſt moment be inexcusable, I finde them neverthelesse allwayes making great protestations of affection and fidelity to his Majesties service. The officers of dragoons which I ſent here priſoners have confeſſed guilt, and throws themselves at his Majesties feet, confeſſing their lyves and fortunes to be at his royall pleaſure, ſo that all their hopes are in his Majesties royall clemencie, perticularly Lieutenant Colonel Levingſton, whoſe greateſt guilt ſeems to lye in the concealing of the plot of others, for none doth teſtifie that ever he conſented to joyn the enemy ; but though his Majestie ſhould incline to pardon them, I wold be of oppinion they ſhould be ſecured till things be better ſettled in the kingdom. I doe not know if I can be preſent at the councill of war, for I ſent the forces which I deſigne againſt the rebels on their way ſo far at St<sup>t</sup> Johnſton, and ſhall follow them by the way of Sterling to ſee that place and the importance thereof, where I leave a good body of forces ready to

march where his Majesties service shall require, with Sir John Lanier and Balfour to command them ; it were fit the twelve troops newly levied were regimented ; Annandaile and Rossie seems to be the expectants, they are both prety men and were forward to settle the crown upon their Majesties ; what may be their raïson to joyn with the jangling party now I cannot tell ; haply this mark of his Majesties favour might break them of. Ther are severall expresse boats sent to Loch Foyl, to advertis his Majesties ships there of the invasion by their negligence made by those three ships. I cannot learn by the report of such as came from Belfast, that ther is great appearance of the cumming of any more : a couple of frigats upon this north coast and towards the Isle of Skye, wold contribut much to subdue the rebellion. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

14. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh the 22 July 1689.*

I fend your Lordship a copie of the examination of the officers and dragoons of Colonel Levingstons regiment ; I am juste now going for Sterling, and from thence to St. Johnston, in order to march against Dundie and the Highlanders ; it seems they will have a last pull for it, for in their own mynds I doe beleieve that this small succour will more discourage fort of them, more then it will raise their hops. I wold willingly know for what posts those 3300 pounds are to be sent from Berwyck ; ther is no money cum as I see for your sons regement, and I doe not know if ther be any for Livingston ; if ther be none for the Earle of it might be pay'd to Mr. Foulis at London, who wold cause it be pay'd to the said Earle or his order. If the King put out Balnagowen I judge it not at this tyme the interest of his service, for I declare since I went north that none could shew himself more zealous and forward for the

present Government, and the contrarie I saw of others ; Foulis is an honest man and my cousin, but he is not very fit for such a charge, nor hath not the third parte of that interest of men that Balnagowen hath. I could wish your Lordship did take methods to ingadge Duke Hamilton cordially in the Kings service, and concert things with him, for he cannot be well wanted at this tyme, for ther are great inroachments defyned as it would appeare, though the main dryvers protest great sincerity for their Majesties service, and none can so well renvers them as the said Duke ; I beleve the great speat runs against Staires and his son, for som men declared that if they wer in the Government the King could not expect this Parlement right ; this I wryt only for your Lordship's advertiment according as things are represented to mee, it lying otherwayes out of my road. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

15. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Sterling the 24th July 1689.*

I am this far towards the Highlands ; it is not an easie commission that the King hath given mee to keep a kingdom peaceable where ther is so much division even betwixt such as love the present Government, that it hinders the necessary expedition of those things which in my judgement presses most, that is to reduce the Rebels, in so far that the Earle of Anandale and the Lord Roffe offer'd to lay down their commissions rather then quit the Parlement to goe with mee to the feelds ; protesting all fidelity and affection to their Majesties and their Government, and readynesse to follow my orders to that end, if the necessity of attending the hous did not oblige them to the contrarie at this tyme. My Lord they are extreemly jealous of my Lord President of the Session ; I wish it breed no jealousies of his Majesties Government in the spirit of his subjects, particularly of that party which I hold to be the surest for the King, and

certainly my Lord, though Stairs and his son were wholly innocent of what they alleage upon them, I wold think it both their prudence and christian duty to withdraw of their own accord to let passe those heats rather then to imbarke his Majestie in the least difficulty or misunderstanding with his people ; for they are perswaded that the tyme of their full delyvrance from the slavery which was imposed upon them by the Ministers of State during the late reignes is cum, if his Majestie were rightly informed, who they believe intends nothing but justice and equity. These are their words and protestations, which I pray your Lordship to represent to the King ; for as I never imagin to myself any considerable advantages in the world, and serving mainly out of affection to their Majesties service and government, which goe hand in hand with the maintenance of the Protestant Religion, I never resolve to flatter such as may possesse their favour in any thing which I might judge to be against the intrest of their service. I can say that I never heard any of them jealous your Lordship, and if they did, it wold be ground enough to make mee think the lesse their accusation against others, perswading myself that you are too much a christian to offer the least prejudice to his Majesties intrest and service upon any privat account ; I chose rather to give permission to those noblemen to remain at Edinburgh though their troupes goe along with me, then receive their commissions, not knowing what spirit may govern men if they were greatly disgusted by such as his Majestie employs, and finding them very much countenanced by that party, though Duke Hamilton was offended I did not take them at their word ; but if I be not mistaken, I know the King to be so much master of his passion that he wold lightly condemne such peremptornesse in mee, since he is allwayes master to put them out or continue them as he shall judge it for his service. I am affrayd to be straitned for provisions in this expedition, therefor if I cannot effectuat what I project, with Gods assistance (upon whose providence I rest more than any direction or conduct of myn,) it shall not be my fault, for I am resolved, God willing, not to spare my pains nor my lif (which is all that I have to venture) for the advancement of so just a cause. I wish your

Lordship wold obtain an order for the man of war that cums down with som money and ammonition to stay here upon our coasts, for wee cannot have a farthing money sent north for the forces wee have there, because our coasts are infested with French capers; if ther could be an other spair'd to it it wold doe much to the reduction of those Highlanders, and accommodation of the forces, perticularly if wee undertake to plant a garrison before winter in Lochaber, which in my oppinion is the readiest way to see an end of these intestine troubles, which otherwayes by slow measures may take us up for a while, and at last cost much more money then wold doe the turn now by handling them more hotly. I order this to be sent by a flying packet, because it is a small expence and requires haste, that your Lordship may obtain the order for that man of war to stay here, and see to get another joynt with it. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

16. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Holyroodhous 28 July 1689.*

On Fryday last Major Generall Mackay marched from St Johnston with about 4000 foot, 4 troops of horse and dragoons, and was at Dunkell that night, where he received intelligence that Dundie was come to Blair in Atholl; he marched on Saturday towards him, and within two miles of Blaire about 5 at night they ingadged, and by severall inferior officers and souldiers that is come here this evening, gives us the account, that after a sharp ingadgement Dundie being much stronger, the Major Generall was quite defeat, and I have yett heard of no officers of quality that is come of but Lieutenant Colonel Lauther, who my Lord Ruthven spoke with as he came from St Johnston this day and gives the same account of there being wholly routed, but the confusion is such here that the particulars is hardly to be got. Wee have given orders at Council this afternoon

to draw all the standing forces to Stirling, and has sent to the west country to raise all the fencible men, and Sir John Lanier has write to the English forces in Northumberland to march in here, and is going to Stirling to command, for Mackay is either killed or taken by all the account we have yett got, but you shall quickly have an other flying packet or an expres. I am fory for these ill neues I send you to acquaint his Majestie with, and my humble opinion is, that his Majestie must first beat Dundie and secuir this kingdom or he attempt any other thing, and now Dundie will be master of all the other side of Forth where there are so great numbers of disaffected to join him, so the King must make hast to assist us to reduce him, for I fear wee shall not be able to defend this side of Forth long, and the King will know what new men is after a ruffle given. Wee do not know what to do with the prisoners, there is so many of them in the Castle and Tolbuith here, and desires the Kings commands in it if they may not be sent some to Berwike and some there to the Toure, in a man of warr wee hear is just now coming up to Leith. I intend to ajurn the Parliament to morrow or next day, every body desiring it, to October. In this confusion and disorder wee are in here, and haveing so many other things to despach, all I can further say is, that I beg you may hast down the Kings commands in this unhappy junctur to your Lordships most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

17. SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, 28 July 1689.*

The excessive trouble we are all in cannot be exprest, both for the strock the Kings affairs hath received and the loss of many brave men; we doubt not but the Major Generall Ramsay and Ballfour, with all the officers of ther regiments that wer ther, L. C. Lauder on excepted, are cut off; it seems to be mostly chargeable att my Lord Murays door, who

not only refused to joyn M<sup>c</sup>Kay, but when his men began to give ground fell on them. My Lord Kenmoor and Bellheaven are certinly killed ; L. C. Lauder fays that after the brek of the armie he fee your fon Lord William on horſback ; we have not yett heard of him ; all we can nou doe is to intreat the King will fend force with all expedition hear, for we have nothing to hinder Dundee to overrun the wholl country. Ill trouble your Lordſhip no furdur, I am yours.

*For the Right Honourable the Lord Melvill  
Secretary of Statt for Scotland.*

18. SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edenb. July 28, 1689.*

This day brings us fory, ſad and ſurprifing newes. We hav good hop that your fon is ſaif; he is wounded in the ſhoulder but was mounted after all was broke : ther bath been treachery in the leading them to that place and the feig of Blair, and my Lord Murrays raifing his men hath all been concerted, and yet I do admire that ſo good a party, ſo good officers and ſouldiers not ſurpryfed, but having weill fought it, could have bein oppreſſed with twice ſo many new men : we have no perfect accounts, bot ther is great loſs of officers. I fear poor honeſt G. Major M<sup>c</sup>Kay his brother is killed, and Coll. Ramſay and Coll. Haſtings, and my Lord Kenmor, I fear poor Bellhaven is gon ; Annandals troop wanting officers mad the firſt diſturbain. The Lord is puniſhing the ſpirit of contention that reingns amongſt us by thes who were no people. Argyl hes about three thouſand men on the other ſyd bot new men, and tho' he be within a days journey of Lochaber, yet he never knew that Dundee was marched. Dundee had not above one hundreth horſes ; the Atholl men ar mor creuell then the enimys army, ſo I fear few will either gett off or gett quarter except ſome of the horſe who ran firſt, and the foot officers ther ſervants

ar all com away with ther horfes : this maks a great confternation heir ; we hav ordered all the forces we have to Strifing, and have ordered all the fenfible men in the weft to be rendervouzed, but I wifh you may order us troops from England, for the countrymen will not do any fervice, and they will now becom intollerable : fom people already appear not fo concerned as the ftroak requirs. I think the other fyd of Tay is loft, and Fyv is in very ill tune—the Lord help us and fend you good newes of your fon. My dear Lord Adeiu.

*For my Lord Melvill  
Lord Secretair of Stat for Scotland  
at London.*

#### 19. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Holyroodhous, 29 July 1689.*

Laft night by a flying packet I gave you the ill neues of Mackays being beat. I have now fent this bearer, a Dutch man who is a Lieutenant in Mackayes regement and ajutant, and was in the action, to give his Majestie all the account he can, and he gives as good account as any that is yett come, but to tell true they all differ in particulares as to the way of the action, but it feams Mackay has been fo forward that after a march of 16 mylls fhould ingadged the enemy when his men was weary, and the next day there was foure troopes of horfe and 2 of dragoons to have joined him, and I fear his foot did not ftand to it as they fhould, but run after fome firing when the Highlanders came to a clofe fight with them ; wee know not certainly who are killed or taken, the bearer can tell who we hear no word of yett, and thofe wee confider as fo, for there is feveral inferior officers and fojors come, but none of them can give certane accounts of the los. The King wold haft fome of his beft troops here, and efpecially foot, for our new raifed men will not be able to ftand the High-

landers ; there is thrie of the battalions of those that came down with Mackay here and at Stirling, but most of them new men, so I fear they do as ill if put to it as the rest did, and all the foot we have more now is, Mars regement, Bargany and Blantys, who are at Stirling ; Argylls, Glencarns and Angus regement in the Highlands with Argyll whom we have sent for ; Sir James Leslys, Stranevers and Grants about Invernes with the Scots dragoons under the command of Sir Thomas Leivingstone and Coll. Barklays dragoons are in Aberdeenshire, who we thinke must go north and join Sir Thomas Leivingston, for we fear he can not come to join us here : Sir John Laneir is gone to Stirling to put the troops there in as good a condition as he can, but we need more general officers. We have got no notice of Dundies motion since the action, and we fear all Perthshire and Angus will be in arms for him presently, so what resolutions the King takes wold not be delayed ; for if he carries Stirling he has all Scotland. The frigot with the money to pay Mackays regements is come, and the ship with the arms, but the canon and mortar piece we shall send back for there is no use of them here, and the King wold give his directions as to those officers and sojors that has come of from the fight. I received yours with the news of the Princes of Denmarks being brought to bed of a son, which I am very glade of, and wishes their Highnesses much joy. I shall long much for a return of his Majesties commands, and I intend to write to Carlile and give notice there to the commanding officer of this distaff, that Marschall Shonberg may be acquainted with it, and I intend to desire some of their troops may march into Scotland for our assistance, for if we be not able to defend Stirling, this place we can not fly in, but must retire into England. It was both by the Councill and Parliament thought fit not to adjourn them to day for discouraging people more, so I have by their ouen advise adjourned them to Wednesday ; all that was done this day you will see by the inclosed act, and the next day we are to consider how to gett mony, for little is to be expected now from the other side of Forth. Your Lordship will be weary with this long letter as I am in writing of it, having never been out of business since 4 a cloake

in the morning, so I hope you will mend the errors in it when you read it to his Majestie, which is desired by your Lordships most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

I have given the bearer but twenty ginies.

20. SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, 29 July 1689.*

I gave you in my last a short and melancholy account of this battel. I wryt you not that I can give you any better news, but to intreat you use your interest with the King as you would avoid the ruine of your country to send such force as with the greatest expedition as with what of honest men will joyne them may all at once extinguish this flame. I have spoke with L. C. Laudor, who says except the Dutch dragoons and some other such force, he does not see how it can be done; if your Lordships knew the losses of our men you hear it would move you to this speedy method, for tho it be now 48 hours since the defeat, and 36 since we heard of it, there's nothing of moment done; the Parliament referred it to the Council, and they have appointed a committee to consider of it till tomorrow at ten a clock. For what I know Dundee may be at Stirling by that time. There you greatly want of good officers and some person of worth and understanding to command in chief, else our affairs I apprehend will turn to a very ill account. Tho I say this yett we have some small hopes the Major General and your son are alive; there on says he sees the Major General a quarter of a myle from the place and nyne hours with him after the rout; and L. C. Lauder says about the same tyme he sees your son Leven well horsed; God grant it be true. The King's loss in the officers is unexpressable, and its pite to give green men to good men to command them, for their running was the loss of all. My Lord I need not tell you how much the King is concerned to follow this man in sending his troops here, and how much its your Lordships interest as well as that of the King and country;

on the first view youll easily apprehend it. Pray you lett your resolutions ansuer the expectations of your frinds, amongst whom you may always reckon, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and faithfull servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

*For the Right Honourable the Lord Melvill  
Soll Secretarie of Statt for Scotland.*

21. SIR PATRICK HUME OF POLWARTH TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, 29 July 1689.*

Tho' you will have full accounts from others of the defeat of our army, and the particular los, yet I cannot forbear to write my thoughts upon the whole matter. I am indeed of opinion that the falsehood of pretended friends led honest Mackay in the snare to his ruine; what is passed cannot be helped; if the methods of some honest men had been followed, this great los might probably have been prevented; if they be yet neglected, greater los will probably yet befall us; if you do not see to it, your guilt will be heavie; all I can do here, and as I am, is to wish well to what I would gladly serve, if in a capacity. I trouble you no farrer, but am still, my Lord, your L. humble servant and true friend,

Pray send my wife this note.

PAT. HUME.

*For the Right Honorable the Lord Melvill  
Lord Secretarie at State to his Majestie.*

22. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

*Sterling, the 29 July, 1689.*

I am fory I have not beter account to give your Grace of our laste expedition, but satisfied in my own mind that I have vndertaken nothing

but vpon such grounds as more capable commanders might readily be deceived in, for I take God to witnesse (who knowes the secrets of hearts) that I doe not make such an Idole of vain glory and reputation as to oblige me to interprise the least thing which my judgement might represent to be contrairie to ther Majesties service and the present government vpon that account ; but considering that my forces were superiour in number to the ennemys, as I could very well know, being the space of two houres in order of battaill, within a musquet shot to them, (not judging it fit to attack them, being ranged vpon a hill above a plain, where I drew vp my troupes,) and judging my men far beyond theirs in the vse of their arms and firmitie in occasion, I thought I might safely, according to the rule of common prudence ingage them though it hath pleas'd . . . . .  
. . . . . ntrarie to my expe . . . . . of regements  
vpon . . . . . most stresse, and which . . . . . ed to  
doe well heretofore . . . . . which might be expected of the . . . .  
of troupes, so carefully train'd for the trade as they were, but it seems that God (in this as well as in all acts of the vnivers,) will let vs see the vanity of humane confidence ; in short, there was no regement or troop with me, but behaved lyck the vilest cowards in nature, except Hastings and my Lord Levens, whom I most praise at such a degree, as I cannot but blame others, of whom I expected more. Now that which I beg of your Grace is, that men goe quickly to work to stop the consternation of our friends, as well as the hops and pryde of our ennemys, to which end Sir John Lanieres regement most be presently called to quarter about Sterling, as well as my Lord Colchesters ; Balgeignies most be sent to Dundie with order to defend that loyally affected town against their implacable ennemys resentments, till I can forme a body with the foresaid hors, and what foot I can pick out as yet to chaffe those highland barbarians again to their hilly confidence and refuge. I beg then (my Lord) that this defeat may not alter in the least your resolution of continuing your session of Parlement, for, in my oppinion, tis not worth the while, . . . . can be easily by God . . . . . cover'd without giv . . . . .

much satisfaction . . . . . necessary deliberations of . . . . .  
 prehension of their advantage . . . . . the success of war is . . . . .  
 . . . . . men ought to be provided as well to remedie a bad one as to  
 prosecute a good. If ther hath not been an order from your Grace or  
 the councell to remove Balgeignie from St. Johnston, the Lieut.-Coll.  
 of that regement ought to be lay'd fast, as having don it out of an ill in-  
 tention. I intend to try narrowly if the faint-heartednesse of som officers  
 hath not been the occasion of such a strange breach among so many rege-  
 ments; to-morrow I shall visit the passes of this river, and order the con-  
 struction of som redoubts to secure them, and so make a start to Edinburgh  
 to consult with your Grace and the Lords of his Majesties councell  
 concerning further mesures to be taken for securing the peace of this king-  
 dom; the further relation of things I refer till I have the honour to see  
 your Grace. I am, May it please your Grace, your Graces most humble  
 and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I beg this letter may be sent to the Kings secretary having no tyme to  
 wryt another so full at present, and that it be dispatch'd by a flying  
 packet.

23. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Stirling, the 29th July, 1689.*

As none is more grieved that any thing prejudiciall to their Majesties  
 service should fall to my share, so none shall use more diligence to repaire  
 the losses so far as may depend of me then myself. My Lord, your son hath  
 behaved himself with all his officers and soulders extraordinary well, as  
 did also Colonel Hastings with his. I have given a large account of  
 maters to my Lord Commissioner, which I desyred might be sent your  
 Lordship. I am extreemly in pain that my wyf shall have the newes of

my death before this inclosed can be at her ; none of those who fled to Dunkell and St. Johnston could say any thing of mee, for they were gone neare an houre befor I caryed of your son's men and Hastings by an other way then the fled went, to be free of the people of Athol, whose disaffection I discover'd of a long tyme to the prejudice of the service. This day late I came with that little body of the Debris of those two regements to Sterling, without halt or rest for two days and two nights to prevent the ennemy's diligence to cut my passage, and am now so overtaken with sleep, that I can say no more, but that I am unchangably My Lord, your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

24. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

*Holyroodhous, 30 July 1689.*

My two last gave your Lordship a very bad account of the action betuixt Mackay and Dundy, which I did not tell you so ill as both officers and soldiers sayed that came from the action, as you will understand by the expres I sent last night ; but this morning wee got neus that helped to comfort us again, for I see letters this morning to my Lord Murray from sure hands, that Dundie was killed in the action, and a litle after wee had the certane account that Mackay, your son, Kenmore, Belhaven, Coll. Ramfay, with two Battalions, wer come to Stirling, and all those wer sayed to be killed. So now I see no officer of quality amissing but Brigadier Balfour, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, who I hope may be prisoners. They say Collonel Canon comands now the highlanders since Dundie is gone, by whoes death I think they have litle reason to brag of the victory, and that they are marching towards Angus. I have just now received the inclosed from General-Major Mackay, who, I believe, will

give you a better account ; fo I onely ad, that I am your Lordship's moft humble fervant,

HAMILTON.

25. THE LORD CARDROSS TO LORD MELVILL.

My Dear Lord,

*Edinburgh, 30 Julay, 1689.*

I had not the courage to writ to your Lordship by the exprefs yefter-day, becaufe I had then too much apparent ground to think my Lord Leven was killed as well as moft of our officers, but now, God be thanked, things ar better, both as to the King's intereft and your Lordships concerne then dard to hope at the firft report, for the Earle of Leven, General Major M'Kay, and all the confiderable officers ar alive and free, except Colonel Balfour, Lientenant-Colonel M'Kay, and Kenmoors Major, and it is not certaine what is become of them, if it be not the laft that is killed ; this is what is faid, but I cannot be pofitive, further then that thofe we thought dead ar hourly coming in. Major-General Mackay is not wounded, nor Earl Leven. M'Kay took to Drummond Caftle about 1400 men. General Major M'Kay was as long or longer in the field then the enimie, though they carried away the baggage ; this is what is faid. The Lord Murray is exclaimed againft and fufpected by moft, and fo is Patrick Graham, who was in St. Johnftoun with Bargany's regiment, we think the General Major will cleare us much in thefe the morrow when he comes. People that ar honeft ar not fatisfied [with] our great man. I am, my Lord, your Lordships moft humble fervant,

CARDROSS.

*For the Right Honorable my Lord Melvill,  
Secretary for the Kingdome of Scotland,  
London.*

## 26. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *St. Johnston, the 2 August, 1689.*

After I came to Sterling with a parte of the Regements of Leven and Haftings, which I cary'd of the field of battle in a body, and with others, which Colonel Ramfay had rallied the mater of two mile from the said place of battle, I judged that it wold give som eclate to the service, and hinder the disaffected of the shires of Perth and Angus to ryse in arms against the government, to appeare presently in the fields, and to place a garifon at St. Johnston, close by the ennemis greatest body; therefore I order'd the Lord Colchester's regement of hors, with six troops of the Scots hors, two of Cardrofs dragouns, with Mar and Balgeignies regements to follow, conveyed by a troop of hors each, and march'd in all diligence with the rest of the hors and dragouns to St. Johnston, wherevpon the march I vnderstood that the ennemy had sent som foot and hors, to transport the meale, which by order of the counsell was transported thither for the vse of their Majestie's forces, and drawing neare the town wee discover'd som of their hors already got out of our reach, but their foot not being far from the town, as yet, was overtaken by a squadron of Colchester's regiment, which kill'd the most parte of them, and took som prifoners, the whole party being found afterwards to be of Atholemen, by the examination which I made myself of the prifoners. If I had three good battaillons of regular foot, with the hors, and dragouns which I have here, (perticularly Colchester's regement) I wold make them scater, in my opinion. I intend, in the meantyme, to leave here in garifon Mar and Balgeignies regements, with three troops of hors, and as many dragouns, and send the rest to Sterling, while I shall cum to Edinburgh to know your Grace and the counsell's further good finding, how wee are to proceed for the further settlement of the peace of this kingdom. I am just now wryting a leter to Colonel Cannan, whom I vnderstand commands their army provisionally, to know what prifoners of ours they have,

and upon what conditions they will releve them, where I let them know by the by that the state of their affairs is not a hapeny advanced by their victory, and how litle the expectation wherewith those highlanders are fed of King James's landing shall turn to their account, making them hop that vpon their humble addresse to their Majesties privy counsell, they may expect of the Kings clemency a gracious indemnity for the past faults. I am ordering som more security for the breaches of this town by way of pallifade, for tis a post of importance considering the disposition of the Atholemen. I admire my Lord Murray could do no more to hinder the junction of that countrey with the rebels. I am informed for certain that the death of Dundie and this march do make them bethink themselves, so as to say, that if King James land not presently, they will look for their security by the government, which made mee try their puls in the letter I wrot to Cannon. Now, my Lord, since your Grace is so nearly concerned in the said Lord Murray, and so intirely for this intrest, I wish he may have som hand in dividing that party, which is, in my opinion, vpon the way to divide of itself shortly, by making his men to break of the first, in which case I think Baleuchan and all the other transgressours might be pardoned to procure a speedy settlement of the nation in peace ; if the ennemy turn head to the north I must goe with a body of hors and dragouns to releve Levingston. This is all I have to acquaint your Grace of at present, being alwayes, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

Since I cannot wryt double information of things, I wish your Grace may send my letters allwayes as they are read in counsell to court, that the King may know of our maters, for which a flying packet ought not to be spared.

## 27. LORD MELVILL TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

8 *August* 1689.

I have communicate all your Grace did wrett to me to the King upon the first and second relation of the engadgement betwixt Generall Major Mackey and the Viscount of Dundee. His Majestie not only ordered the Dutch and English forces that wer in the north of England to march unto Scotland, but also a considerable body of those forces that wer at Chester, who wer to goe for Ireland, wer appointed to be transported to Scotland; but when his Majestie understood affaires wer not so badd as at first represented, those at Chester wer countermanded: and now upon your Graces last letter wherein your Grace thinks the forces you have already may be sufficient to represse those that ar in armes against you, there is a stop put to most of those that wer ordered to march; since, unless necessity required, it would be burdensome to the country to have many horses sent: I heerewith send your Grace a copy of what the King hath wrett to the Councell in relation to the indemnity by them.

His Majestie commanded me to signifie to your Grace that he would cause appoint some frigatts as you desired to cruise upon the western coast of Scotland, as also that upon your Graces letter wherein was the first relation of the engadgement, his Majestie had ordered the persons of quality that wer in prison with you, should be sent heere to London, yett now that circumstances ar altered, he desires they may be kept in Scotland until his further pleasure. His Majestie approves what the Councell hath don in restricting the prohibition for coming out of the country, now since ther seems no such necessity as a litle agoe for one of a larger ex-taint. I am likewise commanded by his Majestie to tell you, that he desires execution to be delayed as to those officers of dragouns who have confessed ther guilt till his Majestie signifie his pleasure anent them.

I just now heare of ane expresse come from Chester confirming the raising of the seige of London Dary; they talke that the late King James

should be gone from Dublin and its not known wher, but this last needs confirmation.

28. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE EARL OF LEVEN.

MY LORD,

*Strathboggie the 17th Agust 1689.*

I have wryten fully to my Lord Portland of your praiseworthy behaviour in the late occasion ; I sent according to his desyre a perticullar account of the whole to my Lord your father so far as I can remember, to be put in a neter dresse and shown to his Majestie. Your Lordship so far as may depend upon me, hath free liberty to goe for London, for I believe much shall not be undertaken more this yeare, and your Lordships regement is render'd incapable to serve in haste. Your Lordship can give a good enough account of the Athole and Perthshire men, and for Angus wee found them in a very bad disposition if their intentions were not prevented by my march. I have no tyme to ansueer leters presently because I want all assistance ; I wish your Lordship a good journey, and myself, if maters were appeased, out of this country ; for if things be not beter regulated, a man must either neglect the Kings service or in a short tyme consume himself. I am allwayes, My Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

29. A SHORT RELATION as far as I can remember, of what past before, in and after the late defeite in Athole, of a parte of their Majesties forces under my command.

*Strathboggie the 17th Agust 1789.*

After neare three months chicane with a very small parcell of forces against a numbrus ennemy, and at last having oblidged them to disperse

and fepperat, and having left the north well secured, I returned to Edinburgh to hasten the necessary preparations for the designe I had formed to goe to Lochaber and secure a strong garison in the heart of the Highlands, as in my judgement the most faifable and readiest way to subdue those Highland rebels, but met with such delays before the number of eight hundred hors for the transporting for a fortnights subsistence of meal only, that the ennemy who questionlesse was advertis'd of our designe, had tyme to gather together his forces depending of severall Highland chiefs, and to march to Athole to secure that countrey (capable to put twelve or fifteen hundred men under arms) for their party, which I had certainly prevented if the hors and provisions had not been too slowly furnished; of this I accuse none, for I beleeve it was want of use mor than any thing els which occasioned it.

Cumming to St. Johnston ther was a letter shoven me from my Lord Muray, wishing the person to whom it was sent might shew mee that a speedy march was altogether necessary to prevent the junction of his men with Dundie, which he should not be able to hinder if the said Dundee should prevent my cumming to that country; upon which advertisement, having six good battaillons of foot by mee, and about a hundred hors, having sent orders to four troupes more of hors and two of dragouns to follow in all diligence, I march'd to Dunkell, where I was informed that my Lord Muray had retired from before the castell of Blaire, my Lord Marquis of Atholls hous, upon which I presently judged that Dundee was marching into the countrey, which thoughts were confirmed by a letter from the said Lord Muray, who wrot that according to my desire he had secured a passe by which I should passe conveniently with baggage and hors with eighty men, but since they were but countrey men and volunteers, he was not sure they should stay there long, wherupon I sent Lieutenant Collonel Lauder with 200 choice fuseliers of the whole army to keep the said passe till I should cum up. About 10 of the cloack I arrived at the said passe, and having met with my Lord Muray, he told me that the most parte of his men were gone from him to save their cattle

from the Highlanders ; with all that he thought he should get them keep'd from joyning Dundee so long as he should stay upon their head, but that by no means they wold joyn mee. I told him if beter could not be, he should doe as he said, till they should see the issue of the mater, so having past the said passe, before I got up the regement of Hastings and the Earle of Annandales troop which I left behind the baggage, lest the ennemy or the Athole men, which I trusted as little, might send a party to attack them behind, I discov'rd the Highlanders approaching and gaining the heighths, and pretty neare before I could get my men to the ground which I judged by their motion they wold be at ; so changing my march and facing with every battallion as it stood by a *quart de conversion* to the right, having vewed the ground where I judged a propos to range them, I made every regement march straight before its face up a steep bray, above which their was a plaine capable to containe more troupes then I had, and above that plaine the mater of a musket shot, a ryfing of a hill above which and betwixt it and a great hill at his back Dundie had place enough to range his men ; I could not have rang'd myn but upon one line, both becaufe I wold not be outwinged nor obliged to draw so neare the ennemy having the advantage of the hill above us, by which he should force us to attack him against the heighth or be incommodat with his too neare fire. The ennemy seeing mee ranged sooner then he thought, (having, as I beleeve, designed to cum down upon the same ground before I could get possession of it, in which case he should have forced me over a river with his fire, which could not be without manyfest hazard of great disorder) he halted upon the heighth the space of more than two hours, wherein nothing past but som light skirmishing. At last towards sun setting they began to descend, and having made a ragged fire threw away their snaphans and ran down the hill with drawn broad swords and targes ; the battallion of Hastings which was ranged upon the right hand, becaufe the rest were drawn up in order before it had past the defile; that of my regement, my Lord Levens, and Kenmore with the half of Ramsays battaillon made pretty good fire, the other half of Ramsays, with Balfours whole battaillon, and

Lauders detachment of 200 men, gave ground, or rather fled without any firing. When the ennemy came down I hade my eye much upon their hors, which I judged scarcely so strong as our two troops, and, having remarked that they seemed to attack much about the middle of the line, when I perceived the most parte of our fire spent, I called out the said two troops which I had behinde the lyne by an interval, of a designe to cause one of them flank the approaching Highlanders to the left and the other to the right, which certainly had been of such effect had they the resolution to obey their orders, and wold have so encouraged the foot that in all appearance the Highlanders wold soon have run for it, but the said hors not advancing, notwithstanding I brought them up myself, and that the Lord Balhaven who commanded them did behave very honestly; after a little confused firing they renversed upon the Lord Kenmores right wing and so begun the first breach so neare as I could remarque; Dundee with his hors wheeling to our right came upon the battaillon of my regiment, by whose fire according to their own confession, both Dundie, Pitkur, one Ramfay and others were killed at the first onset, but in a very short tym all did run except a parte of the Earl of Levens regiment, which by the diligence and firmity of the said Earle with his Lieutenant Collonel, Major and other officers, and a parte of Colonel Hastings regiment, which, after they had lost ground, the Colonel with his Lieutenant Colonel and other officers brought up againe, and kept the feeld of battail.

When all had scoured of which stood about me, so that I found myself abandoned in the midst of the ennemys, I pearced throw them, being well hor'd, and seeing som red coats in the feelds, I went to them, and sent presently after the runawayes, desyring the officers to doe their utmost endeavour to get as many rallied as possibly they could, but after neare an hours expectation, till it begun to be dark, and seeing the ennemy preparing of all sydes to attack mee, having in all but about 400 men which wee could not possibly bring in any order, and receiving notice that none of the officers could persuade their men to stand, much less

to return back, having advertif'd the men to march of softly, wee retired in the best order wee could over the litle river, and so retired by such wayes as I judged should be the securest, and wold evit the rencontre of the Athole men, who, as I was informed of officers and soldiers afterwards, killed more men, and made more prisoners, three tymes over, then Dundies men, for wee judged that the ennemy lost more men in the fight then wee did in this occasion. I could learn of no commanding officer that misbehaved, though I confesse that my Lord Leven, Colonel Hastings and their officers have distinguished themselves in this occasion above all others. The Brigadier Balfour, my brother, and others were killed after their men abandoned them. Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder was abandoned of his party, and labour'd without succes to rallie them; Colonel Ramfay, the same; but two mile from the feild of battaill, he gather'd about two hundred men, with which he join'd me, when I came of, marched then with about 6 or 700 men throw the Highland wayes, till I came to Castell Drumond, where I had a garison; and Monday, from thence to Sterling; Twesday, I dispath'd order to the Lord Colchester's regement with all the troops of new levied hors and dragouns thereabouts to the number of 400, and with them on Wednesday took my way to St. Johnston, both to hinder the junction of the shires of Perth and Angus with the ennemys, and to keep them in the hills. At St. Johnston wee surpris'd a party of a couple of hundert men, wherof 150 were killed; thither I sent for the three battaillons that were left of the Hollands regements, with Sir John Laniers and Hayfords regements, ordering Sir John when he should cum vp to halt at St. Johnston till he heard from mee; while vpon the ennemys motion to the Brayes of Angus, I march'd with the hors and dragouns I had by me to Forfare, to hinder that shire from ryng in favour of the ennemy, and vpon their further motion over the hills to Aberdonehire, I went to the town of that name, and from thence approached the ennemy nearer; but judging by the nature of his post fit to receive such as wold cum in to him both from the high and low countreys I sent for Hayford and Livingstons dragouns, having for dispatche taken no Infanterie with

mee, to oblige them to leave that post, which regements joyn'd me the last of them this day. I am of opinion, and my intelligence doth confirm it, that they shall soon weary of it, if they get no souldain succour from Ireland. Tomorrow I intend to march in fight, if the enemy doe not draw to the hills. This is a short summaire of what past as to the late affaire, but certainly the enemy is in a worse state now then before his victory, for he durst never set his nose in the Low Country, because I was over all to oppose him.

H. MACKAY.

*N. B.* That before the ingadgement I made a speech to every battaillon, representing that not only their honour, religion, country and fidelity to their Majesties required they should behave themselves manfully, but also the consideration of their own lives, which could not escape if they should turn their backs to their ennemys, because they were speedyer a foot, and that Atholemen would be worse to them then enemy if they should be brock vpon; which they all answered with the greatest cheerfullness imaginable, that none of them should abandon me, which most of them belyed shortly after.

The English officers of horse begin extremely to repyne to see their horse so ill accommodat in these Highland countrys, where it begins to be cold and rainy. Colchester and Berckley have suffered very much this campaign, so that they shall hardly get those regements right, except the King help them with some money to make up their losses. I am obliged to speak for them, because I found them very well inclined and ready for their Majesties service, as all the English forces which served with me this yeare have shoven themselves. I shall be obliged to return them very shortly to quarters since the Highland army is separat.

*For the Right Honourable my Lord Melvill  
his Majesties sole Secretary  
for his ancient kingdom of Scotland,  
Whithall.*

## 30. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Strathboggie, the 17th [August] 1689.*

I fend your Lordship an account of the affare which fell out in Athol, both before, in, and after the occasion till this tyme. I sent to the counsell som directions what is further to be vndertaken; the want of som fregats to be imployed against those Islanders which are joyn'd doth hinder much, for they could burn and ruine their countreys; tis not my fault, for its long since I wrot of it, I am sure three of the smallest rates could not be beter imploy'd; the account which I fend here inclosed your Lordship may cause wryt over againe in a beter forme. I fend herewith a list of the vacancies of my regement, and the persons I recommend to them. I am so vnprovided of all things for the subsistence of the troops as to money provision and tents, that if the ennemy knew our inconvenience, they wold oppiniatre the more without doubt; the reason of the want of money is, that the troupes were so suddainly called out, and such as are pay'd out of England had no tyme to get it from Edinbrugh and the Scots are pay'd by precepts, which they had no tyme to get in. Tents wee want generally, for this body of hors and dragouns except Levingston. I doe not know how my mesures since the defeat will be represented to, or relish at Court, but sure I am, that it was the visible means which occasioned that the ennemy got no greater advantage by it; I doe things as I judge them most advantageous for the service, and not to satisfy every critique fancy; his Majesty is a good judge, and may be sure I never betray the interest of his service, nor the trust which he hath put upon me so far as my judgement can penetrat; tis difficult to be misfortunat and free of blame at ons, but I submit to providence.

Lauder pray'd mee to recommend his intrest to your Lordship. His Colonel is certainly killed as well as my brother, he is brave enough, and affectioned to his Majesties service as any to whom he can give the regement. I am marching this day towards the ennemy with a consider-

able body of hors and dragouns, to see if I can make them take the hills againe, for I dout wee shall not get them in any attackable ground. I am allways, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I wrot to my Lord Portland concerning your son, whose behaviour in the last occasion was beyond any thing that could be expected of a longer experience. I send here also a list of Sir Thomas Levingstons vacancies; I placed severall subalterns in his regiment, for the necessity of the service, having but 3 or 4 officers in the regiment, besides the imprison'd. If his Majestie wold send mee a power for so doing, I question not but he wold be beter served then with the London recommendations. As I have not met with the officers of the other two battaillons since they returned to garison, I know not what vacancies they may have.

31. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*St. Johnston, the 26 August 1689.*

Beeing cum here with the regements of Hayford and Colchester, and three troops of Scots hors, I intend tomorrow for Athole, leaving here a battaillon of foot, three troops of dragouns, and two of hors, for the security of the town, and a hundred men in my Lord Marquis of Athols house of Dunkell. I finde no security to receive the Athole men except they be disarmed, for all they will doe now is but by force, and though they should sweare fidelity, I doubt much of their performance if they did see a faire occasion to break their ingadgement; neither doe I conceive how they can secure the peace by baile, except the Marquis of Athole and his sons were taken baile for their good behaviour, who have more need to be bailed themselves for ought I see; however, I would gladly know the counsells mynd in it; meantyme I shall let them feel the folly of resisting the government, if quickly they doe not shew such submission as I shall be

latisfied with, and have fent them word that if they fhould offer to burn the Caſtle of Blair, I ſhall not leave a houſe ſtanding betwixt it and Dunkell. The government may ſee what rogs they are ; for after the indemnity was publiſhed, they joyn'd with the other rebels, ſo that ther is no ſtate to be made upon them. If ther be no way to garifon ſtrongly their countrey, which cannot be don if that houſe were burnt, as is reported they have a mynd to doe, I am apt to beleieve if the rebels be put out of Athole that they will ſeparat, and if they get no incouragement out of Ireland, will not in haſte aſſemble againe ſo numerous. I wiſh ther were more pettards ſent, for the mines though wee had ſuch as could lodge them well, wold render the houſes vſeleſſe for us ; and the canon ſignifies no more then muſquets againſt ſuch old walls, which wold require a good whiles battering of better pieces to force them ; if the counsell pay not the troops and compaynies but upon their preſent foot, they'l not be able to recrute them, ſo that if their Lordſhips have a mynd to intertaine ſo many forces, they ought to pay them upon the foot of their firſt muſter, and oblige them to be compleet againe ſuch a tyme, which is all at preſent, from my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

H. MACKAY.

32. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Blair Caſtle, the 30th Auguſt 1689.*

Since my laſt to your Lordſhip from Strathboggy, the enemy finding he could advance nothing in the north, I being continually in his way, and betwixt him and all communication with the low countrey, he turned ſouthward by the ſame way he went north, and I followed him as cloſe as I could, conſidering I wold not ingadge myſelf in any bad ground with hors and dragouns, only leaving Sir Thomas Levingſton with his own regement which I had called from Inderneſſe, three troops of Cardroſſes dragouns, and ſix troops of the new levies in Aberdone and Banff ſhires.

In the meane tyme, the counsell order'd the regement of Angus to Dunkell, where the enemy having a short cut over the hills, arryved before either Sir John Lanier, who was nearer, or I could be vp, and attacked the said regement, which lay very oppen from all hands, but was beat of with som losse of their men. Sunday therafter, I cam vp to St Johnston, and Monday marched to Dunkell, and so fourth to Blair, where I found the castle emty and intier, which might be the ffect of a threatning message I sent vp the countrey as soon as I arryved at St Johnston, that if the Castle of Blair were burnt, I wold not leave a hous standing betwixt it and Dunkell. I had som of the countrey gentlemen by mee to have the benefit of his Majesties gracious indemnity, but I told them, since they could not otherwyse secure the peace sufficiently, they must bring in all their arms, assuring them as then of the protection of the government, but that I could not judge it secure enough to receive them vpon their bare swearing of the oath of alledgeance. To morow I expect the answer of som of them, and shall be obliged to deale rigourously with such as shall refuse to cum in vpon those termes, for they have shewen so much enmity to the government allready, that wee cannot be sure of them otherwyse; meantyme the Highlanders are separat, and each returned to his own home, from whence I fancy they will not gather in haste so compleetly, except they have incouragement from Ireland, and I am of opinion if they let passe the limited tyme prescryved by his Majestie for their submission, that it ought not to be given them any more, but to rouse them out of the nation as the bane thereof, perticularly the Lochabrians. If the fregats which had order to saile about this north, to joyn Rooke, had order to receive directions from mee, they had notably contributed to force them to obedience, for Macklean, Macdonald and Clanranald, who are of the considerablist of them are Islanders, and soon subdued with 3 or 4 frigats and som land forces aboard of them, which wold certainly so dishearten the rest, that they wold quickly give it over. I am now about the garisoning of som places in the nearest highlands, it being impossible without sterwing of the forces, to think to place any forces at Innerlochy

for this yeare, the faifon being fo far advanced, that wee cannot expect much more faire weather, and no poffibility to be fupply'd with victualls but by fea, which is very uncertain, except it were there before us. I make no queftion but it may be an eafie mater to make this kingdom peaceable, if things go well in Ireland and at fea, as I hop they fhall, by the bleffing of God. My Lord, if the King fend down fubaltern officers to Colonel Levingfton's dragouns, he fhall loofe thereby feveral good and ferviceable officers which I have been oblidged to caufe place for the neceffitie of the prefent fervice, ther being after the difcovery of their traifonable deffeyn, but 4 fubalterns in all, with the Colonel and Major, for all officers in the regiment. I wrot for fom comiffions alfo for my own regiment, of which I fent a lifte, in tyme of war; and at this diftance it ought to be much left to the Commander-in-Chief to place officers, if he be known to be a man who principally doth regarde the intrefte of the Kings fervice in choofing of officers; for the finall number allowed us in the three regements upon fuch ftrong companies, hath no queftion contributed to their diforder, in the late occafion. One Lieutenant Arnault of Balfour's regiment hath behaved himfelf very honeftly, and is a carefull officer, who had his Colonel's promis to be recommended to the firft vacant companie of his regiment, which hath fallen out to be the Colonel's own, he deferves it very well, and your Lordfhip will have no difcredit in recommending him. I am extreemly weary of this fort of war, and is certainly more fit for a man of fewer years and more accuftomed with the maner of the countrey, then for mee, fo that nothing but my zeale for their Majefties fervice and the intrefte of the proteftant religion, could make it fupportable to mee; fo that if that be fo far fecured this yeare as to confine the rebells fo within their own hills as that they cannot trouble the government, or that they happen to fubmit to it, I hop his Majeftie will have the goodneffe to permit mee to take my winter quarters in Holland, if it pleafe God I live fo long, and that the neceffity of his fervice doe not otherwayes require; for I can affure your Lordfhip, that I have wreffled not only with a great waikneffe of body for the moft

parte of the tyme I have been in this kingdom, but also with great fatigues, inconveniences and difficultys, peticularly to get the forces to subsist, by raison of the slow and irregular methods of the government in those things to which they have been so little accustomed, together with the skearcity of money, without which the most knowing will but slowly advance matters, except wee should make war as the Highlanders, by giving liberty to commit all sorts of disorder and violence, in which case wee could keep an army as good as theirs of the same sort of people, but I wold never be the Commander of such an army. Our new levies have not proved generally very good, especially the foot regements, I mean the levies orderd by the Convention of Estates; for my Lord, your sons regiment, as well as our new recruits have ben in good order before they were shater'd at the late bad rencontre, though, I thank God for it, the Kings service hath lost nothing except the losse of som few honest men, whose tyme was cum. I am alwayes, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

MY LORD,

Since this letter was wryten, the most pairt of the Athole men are cum in, and have taken the oath of allegiance and delyver'd their arms up upon oath that they have none els; I intend to leave betuixt four and five hundred men here in garison of the new levies, notwithstanding of what I wrot above. If with the expences of som few thousands of pounds wee could break this Highland combination, I judge it wold be advantageous for their Majesties service, for then the King might imploy his forces more usefully elsewhere; som propositions have been made to mee, that a pardon for what he did last yeare against Mackentosh, with a gratification of ten thousand marcks to help to pay the said Mackentoshes pretentions, that his family might be able to subsist, wold not only make Keppoch submit, but contribut to break the rest of the combination; this I had to day

from the Laird of Caldell, it might be of good effect if he be sincere. I have wryten to my Lord your son, to speak to Caldell of it.

### 33. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Blair Castle, the 30<sup>th</sup>. August, 1689.*

I have framed this letter as pressing and urging as I could, and that according to my judgement and the knowledge which I may pretend to have in some measure of such affairs; and I judge it were not amiss, if your Lordship let some of the most zealous for their Majesties service and interest of the English government see it, for I suppose it is plain truth and matter of fact; it is absolutely dangerous to disarm in this country till things be better fitted for it, having so great a circuit of country to guard, and so many bosom enemies, who (though pretended Protestants,) the devil doth so far possess, that at least consequentially they wish for nothing more in all appearance than the utter ruine and extirpation thereof, by wishing and labouring (as much as in them is, and as far as the safety of their interest God can allow) for King Jameses restoration, your Lordship would press a final resolution, otherwise there shall be an inevitable general complaint when the forces shall want pay; and consider this one argument more upon the matter against a cessation in such a time, that we may haply have many of those we dismiss, next day in arms against us, so that it were better never to have levied them, then disband them during the Rebellion, and when they have learned something of their trade, at least as to the handling of their arms; if the Dains be to cum this winter, they ought to be here shortly, and if they were once reembarqued, I hope I may without the least hazard, be spared from here during the winter season, and if next spring, (God sparing life and strength,) his Majesty judge me more usefull here then elsewhere, I shall be allways ready, judging that I can hardly have it worse than this last yeare, both as to my indisposition of body, and lack of all things necessary, as well as

persons to imploy, understanding the right notion of matters, as I did myself of this kingdom, whence I have been so long absent, otherwyse I had insisted more then I did to have a greater force down with mee which was the occasion this Rebellion was begun, and if begun not quickly ended ; but let us not fall in the same failings againe by an unfairfonable disbanding, which will strengthen and continu it in all appearance. Upon the arrayvall of four troops of hors and dragoons which I ordered to the North, (to fortifie the body that lyes there,) under the command of my nephew, all the enemys desleyns upon that countrey vanished presently ; all their winter attempts, (provided wee continu formidable) will be but to steale cowes. I have wryten to my Lord Rosse, wherein I blame their heats, and shew the disadvantage of it considering the present juncture ; I wish with all my heart, those persons might be so disposed before they cum down, that his Majestie might with satisfaction let his parlement meet againe ; I have given them all the raisons I was capable of to persuade them to more moderat proceedings. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

34. LORD CARDROSS TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Perth, 3 September 1689.*

Since my last nothing hath ocured in these parts worthy the troubling you. By a letter yesternight from General Major Makay at Blair of Athol, I finde that the badnes of the weather in these parts, the want of tents and the scarfty of priviones, will keep him from a further progres for this season ; he designed a garrisone for Finlarigg, and for that end to have marched there, but that the weather stoped him, he says he findes the army cannot march three days from a toun but the forces will run the hafard of sterving ; that which occasiones this is the badnes of the way that cartes cannot pass, and that baggage-horses cannot be gott ; this con-

lifts with my particular knowledge, for I have the greatest difficulty to gett horses to carry what amunition and provisions ar gone from this to the army; and when the horses wer at last gott, it was allwayes later then ought to have been. I know no way, my Lord, to prevent this for the future, if his Majestie doe not appoint a Commissary for baggage-horses, to call for what horses ar needed at so much as is reasonable for the mile, and to pay them duely accordingly, and to restore there horses at the appointed stage, except ane absolute necessity obstruct it. My Lord, my brother William designing for London, and will probably be the bearer herof, I intreat your Lordships favour to him, for I am sure he hath a heart full of duety and loyalty to our King and Queen, and is a faithfull servant to your Lordship. I hope your Lordship will finde him not altogether unworthy of participating of his Majesties favours at this time of his disposing of them. You may be sure, my Lord, that what you doe for him will much oblige, my Lord, your Lordships most faithfull and most humble servant,

CARDROSS.

### 35. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, the 10 Septembre 1689.*

Since my last I reduced the countrey of Athole to their Majesties obedience, and disarmed all who did not prefer their arms to a fals oath, which tyme must discover, for I have left order with the Commander to make a search of the houses of such as may be suspected to have concealed them, I have put 500 men in garison at Blair Castle, and order'd a *chemin couvert* and a pallisade round about it, in such a forme as the ground wold admit of, so that that poste is prety well secured, as it shall secure a great parte of the Highlands; for I reckon that Athole was a large third parte of the rebels strength; the bad weather and great rains have chaffed mee out of the hills sooner then I thought; but though I sent the English hors

and dragouns to a quarter of forage, except that of Hayford, which (according to an intimation I had from Mr. Blathwait of an order of the King to that purpos) I sent straight to Kirkubright to be shipped over for Ireland ; I keep a parte of the Scots forces with the three intire battaillons of our regements lodged in and about St. Johnston, to take the occasion of the first faire weather to place two or three garisons more to shut up the Highlanders in their hills, and cover the low countreys. I am of oppinion that the neck of this rebellion is broken, if all succour from Ireland be hinder'd, as I am hopfull it shall. Very many cum in dayly to take the benefit of his Majesties gracious indemnity, and I beleeve many more wold cum in if they had tyme ; but to-morrow the terme is out, so that the door is shut if ther be no new prolongation : I wold wish, neverthelesse, that his Majestie take no more regements as yet, till we see what this and the next month shall produce, though I confesse that the English hors cannot recruit so conveniently here as in England ; but hors is the great feare of Highlanders, for the same forces which beat mee three thousand men formerly I kept in ther hills and hinder'd from all communication with their favourers, who were in no small number, with the mater of 400 hors and dragouns, most new levies, the ennemy being recruited with severall other Highlanders who were not present at the action. This day the Earle of Braidalbin is cum in and hath taken the oath of allegiance and found baile, as did also Southesk and Strathmore, and to-morrow the Earle of Calender, with the Lords Levingston and Duffus, are to be received upon the same terms, but ther is none of the chief combined Highlanders have made their application as yet, but it is no great hazard ; for if their Majesties other affaires goe well, with the help of the garisons which I shall take in possession, they can soon and easily be subdued next yeare, and all the Highlands of Scotland reduced to as peaceable a state as the lower partes, so that the forfeitures of the obstinat will make up as well the expences of that expedition as the losses well affected persons have received by them. Colonel Canan is in no reputation or esteeme by them, for he and Dunfermeling doe nothing but drink acquavity, as I am informed

by people who are cum in from them. The whole north is very peaceable at present. I received a line from your Lordship concerning his Majesties instructions to Sir Allexander Bruce. I shall give him a route where to finde the regements and troops pay'd by this kingdom; they are generally waiked, by reason of some rude marches to which they were oblidged, perticularly the hors, but more especially the troops of Annandale and Balhaven, who were in the unlucky action of Athole, though I thank God their Majesties service, as things by his blessing, have been manadged since hath suffer'd nothing by it; the troupes cannot be well recruited till I assigne them their winter quarters, which I doe not resolve to doe till next month. There are many ill men, I mean unfit for service, among the foot regements, and have great want of experienced officers; they have received precepts for the month of August, so that they are nothing behinde. I had no tyme all this Campaigne to look after the modelling of them, or bringing them to a better forme, so that they are very raw and new as yet, but this winter (if ther wer a person of good capacity made use of as drill-master, to see them well exercisid and muster out the ill men) might put them in beter order. My Lord, ther is one Mr. Forbes, master gunner of the Castle of Edinburgh, who, to my knowledge, so long as I was here, and by the testimony of Sir John Lanier, and the Brigadier Balfour before his death, hath been of great use for the reduction of the said Castle by his continuall and undeffatiquable pains; upon which account, before my last march from this place, I gave him a provisionall order to exercise the charge of Lieutenant of the Arteyllerie, ther being none so fit for it, Sletcher having absolutely denyed to serve his Majestie at my arryvall from England; and Duree, though usefull as an Ingeneur, not understanding the Arteyllerie so well as this man, therefore I earnestly desyre that your Lordship wold be pleased to speak to his Majestie, that he may reward his services with the place of Lieutenant of his Arteyllerie in Scotland, which will be a notable incouragement to him to continow his faithfull services upon all occasions, as well as to others to follow the exemple of such as they see consider'd for their for-

wardnesse and fidelite in their Majesties service. I am not of oppinion that Sletcher should be imploy'd any more in this kingdom, having refused to serve when ther was most need of him. I pray your Lordship to let me have your answer upon this as well as other things concerning the service whereof I have wryten to your Lordship in my former letters, not forgetting the commissions of subalterns for Colonel Levingstons regement, whereof severalls are provisionally placed by my orders, judging it for the service, that such a body commanded heretofore by disaffected men should not be without officers upon their head, in a tyme when ther was expected dayly occasion to employ them; this is all at present from, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I beg pardon for troubling your servants with my leters to put them upon the peny-post, that for the Secretarys your Lordship will have the goodnesse to cause delyver.

36. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, the 16<sup>th</sup> Septembre 1689.*

Since (God be thanked) that it is lyck to goe well with the Kings service so well here as in Ireland, I am of oppinion if the commillion to my Lord your son and to me, were continued, that wee could finde a way to break the Highland combination, which at the best that affaires can goe, will allwayes save his Majestie more money then it will cost him, for I am for certain informed that Maclean makes no profession of poperie, and if so be, in securing him from the utter ruine that he apprehends by my Lord Argiles credit, he can be brought of in my oppinion, and his falling away from them wold quickly oblige the reste to look to their safety. Tis not because that I apprehend any undertaking of theirs for

this winter which can trouble the government, that I make this propolition ; but beydes the advantage of settling maters with the first, I judge it not the Kings service to ruine those auncient familys, that a nighbour might be made too great thereby, but rather that the King should pay his pretention in mony, then to let him have such a command, who certainly hath not all the necessary command over himself, but is too much caryed with passion against the familys to which he beleeves he doth ow a prejudice, as he hath discover'd lately in Athole. My Lord your son will wryt more fully of this mater.

If the King hath not adoe with all the Danish forces in Ireland, I could wish he did let a few of them over winter in Scotland. I did wryt to the Secretary at war about it, for the regements of Colchester and Berckly are capable of litle service till they be recruited, and Laniers, Hayfords and Haslings are marching for Ireland, where I wish they were all ready, for if things goe well there, wee'l have the lesse to doe here. I hop the King will permit mee, in ordre to my better preparation for the next campaign, where his service shall require to make a step for Holland this winter, to ordre my family and litle affaires. I am of oppinion that it wold be for his Majestie's service to make Sir George Munro of his pryvy counsell, and to give him som pension to stay allwayes at Edinburgh ; for though he be old and infirme, he is yet of a sound judgement, and his advice both in military and civil affaires, wold be of great assistance to the counsell, for he can in all things which might occur, assist them to give pertinent orders to the respective officers in their severall quarters where I shall place them. He is certainly a well-wisher of this cause, and is now a Parlement member, chosen since your Lordship went up. I pray your Lordship to let me have your oppinion upon these particullars, which I propose only for the Kings service. Sir George hath his judgement and memorie as fresh yet as he had thirty years agoe, and understands perfectly the Highlanders, and how to deale with them ; if his Majestie will doe this, hee and I will project before I should goe from this, if I be permitted, what measures most be followed to proceed against them if they

should not submit ; this is all at present from my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I pray your Lordship to send the inclosed to the Earle of Portland.

37. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbrugh, the 16 Septembre 1689.*

This gentleman bearer hereof, Henry Rolo of Woodfyde, being a person very well affected to their Majesties service and the Protestant religion, and by me put in trust of the command of the Castle of Blakness, when I came down from the King, as a person in whom I could trust for the custody of prisoners; I pray your Lordship to recommend him to his Majesty to be continued in the said post, being assured he cannot put a more deserving person in that place, according to the testimony of all such as know him. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

38. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbrugh, the 16th Septembre 1689.*

This gentlewoman being the widow of one of the Captains of my regiment, kill'd in the late occasion with the rebels, I could not refuse her a recommendation to your Lordship, in case ther be any allowance for such persons ; her husbands name was Lamy : his Majesty knowes the people ; he was a brave man, and had taken himself up lately so well, that I was resolved to recommend him for his advancement when occasion should offer. The most parte of the officers of my battaillon were kill'd upon the spot ; my brother, Lamy and Captain Angus Mackay, who were as brave as any men could be, were shot, and afterwards being abandoned of their men, dispatch'd with broad swords ; my nephew Captain Robert Mackay,

who was a young man, and his first service before an enemy, fought stoutly for his life, and disengaged himself, having received four considerable wounds of broad swords in his head and body, to whom my Lord your son having met with him in his wounds, generously gave his own horse to carry him off, till his servant at last came up with his own; and my Captain Lieutenant Mackenzie was left mortally wounded among the dead, and was helped of thereafter when I marched of the fields with the few men that stood, so that all the Captains of the battalion I had there, were either killed or do bear the marks of their good behaviour; besides that I lost about six very good subalterns, and brisk fellows. I pray your Lordship to do your best to get some consideration for this poor widow. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

There is another poor widow (a stranger) of one Lt. Chambers of Colonel Balfours regiment, whose husband was killed there also, and was a resolute man according to the testimony of his officers, whom I recommend also to your Lordships charitable offices by their Majesties.

### 39. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, the 23d September 1689.*

The bearer hereof I recommended together with Captain Lamys widow to your Lordship by another letter; but being with child and not able to go by land, she importuned me for this second recommendation; her husband was one Chambers, Lieutenant in Colonel Balfour's regiment, and killed in the late occasion in Athol; she is a stranger and expects some charity of their Majesties; her husband was known to be a brave fellow. I do recommend her then to your Lordships charitable offices, being, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

## 40. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,      *Edinburgh, the 11th Octobre 1689.*

Understanding that ther might be som thoughts of putting others in the charges hitherto officiated by Mr. Hamilton of Binny, I cannot in justice forbear to testifie that I have found him affectioned to their Majesties service and the present cause, ready and diligent to goe about his duty so far as depended of him, and free to ingadge his own credit where the publick directions were wanting, not judging it the intrest of the service to change useful men, ons formed to the manadgement of their bussinesse, (and perticullar that of the Secretary at War,) to get in such as must be made to it ; therefore I wish he may be continued for the ease of such as shall happen to command their Majesties forces here. I have been this 10 or 12 dayes in Perthshire ordering the garisons; at the Blair ther are 500 men; at Finlarig 200, which are all the hous is capable of till convenience of beding be made, at Weemb 200, and at Camfinore, Cardros and Drume-kill, 6 companies of the Earle of Angus'es regiment, which is not above 600 men at present ; with all I am certainly informed that the said Earles own companie was never in being: in my opinion it were best to reduce them to ten companies, for which ther might be found good officers and men of som service in the regiment, and who are not of the wilde principles ; but if it be continued a regiment, ther ought presently be sent a good Lieutenant Colonel, a man of service to it ; upon the noyse that the Highlanders were resolved to disquiet again the northern shires, I order'd som hors and dragoons over Spey, and if need be upon further advertisment Sir Thomas Levingston to follow them with more ; the forces are seperated in quarters as followes, my two battaillons with Blantires and Eglintons and Rosses troops at Sterling, Balfours two battailons, Argiles with Newbottles and Grubets troops at Perth, Ramsays two battailons with Annandale and Belhavens troops at Dundie, Angus and Cardros at

Monros, Brechen, Ardbroth and Forfare, Levingstons dragoons with the other six troops of hors, in the shires of Aberdone, Bamf, Moray, and so to Inderneff, with the regements of foot of Leslie, Strathnaver and Grant at Inderneffe, Fores and Elgin, to be drawn together upon advertisement of the commanding officer in those quarters, the half regements of Mar, Glenkairne and Bargany, (the other 5 companies of each being in the garisons of Blair, Finlarig and Weemb.) I lodged at Cooper of Fif, Inderkethin and Dumfermeling, to be made up again, for they are scandalously waik; Levins regiment with six companies of Beuuridge are at Lieth and Canegate; by this disposition the low countrey over all is guarded, and the forces so lodged, that in a short tyme a good body of them may be drawn together whether in the south or north; but if this winter they interprise any thing, it will be to the north, because it doth lye neare them; this is all I can inform your Grace of at present, save my being alwayes, May it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

41. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, the 12th Octobre 1689.*

I received your Lordships of the 5th from Newmarket, insinuating his Majesties order to have from me the true state of the forces on foot in this countrey, with what regements and troops are fittest to be kept up, since ther is no money to pay the whole; 'tis not possible for mee at present to answer to the former, because the nature of the countrey and the service doth require their sepperation at no lesse distance than betuixt Glascow and Inderneffe in a half circle, bordering the Highlands, in all which bounds I must take my measures so that where the Rebels (whose strength when together is all in one body,) doe turn head or move, I may have presently together wherewithall to make head to them, so that the

regements which lye be north Spey, I have not seen since the middle of July last, after the Highlanders had separate and I had formed a desseyne to goe to Lochaber, though I confesse too late for any preparations I could get to effectuat it, but in generall I may say, that though many of the regements are little worth, yet the disbanding of them might be of evell consequence till things be further advanced in Ireland, and my raifon is, first, that the name of them doth keep the countrey in fow aw, at least the low countrey, of which benorth Tay wee are not very sure except fow feu familys; nixt the great distance of countrey to garde over all, at least 200 miles, and the manyfold garifons to maintaine requires many men, besyds that wee must have hors and foot over all to forme a body where those Highlanders appeare and fall down, so that wee must make account to be oblidged to keep at least triple the number that they can be able to put together to withstand their attempts over all; the Highlands lying in a masse contiguous together, and furrounded with the low countrey, so that making a feinte to draw our forces north or south, they may (cutting short through the hills,) surprise other parts before the same body could be bak again to oppose them; this is the true notion of this sort of war, and the situation of the kingdom will let your Lordship or any other see it in the map, so that my opinion is clearly that none of the hors or dragouns be disbanded this winter, if his Majestie resolve not to send others in their place, and that 6 battaillons of the new levied foot or at least five be kept on foot, for our regements and the Earle of Levens ought to be kept disingadged from garifons to forme one body or more (according to the nature of the ennemys interpryses) when occasion might require; for if a competent number of forces in the kingdom be wanting, ther shall appeare more ennemys then doth appeare as yet; the only apprehension of the forces and Duke Schombergs passage to Ireland being that which discouradged them, so that my opinion is, that his Majestie ought rather to be at fow expences to keep a formidable body on foot for this winter, then to hazard a longer continuation of the troubles of this kingdom, which is not yet so very settled as could be wished, though forces being layd as I have

and shall further appoint them ; I am perswaded the ennemy for this yeare cannot doe much harme ; if his Majestie resolve to break fom of the foot, his favour ought to regulat it, for ther is litle difference, only that I beleve the regements of Mar, Glenkarne and Blantire to be of the worst fort, also a battaillon of Angus might be brock ; but one good might be made of it if ther were a man of service put vpon the head of it, for the men are good, and ther may be for that number of good officers of som service, and not of their wilde principles got among them, I beleve that Strathnaver and Grant have as good men as any of the rest ; I had no tyme all this yeare to look after the modelling of them, being continually ingadged against the Rebells since I came to Scotland except a feu weeks the beginning, and though my indeavours had not all the succes which humanly one might propose to himself in my chief ingadgement with them, neverthelesse the Kings affaires hath suffer'd nothing by it through Gods blessing vpon my present diligence to hinder the ennemy from the advantage which he proposed to himself thereby, and which certainly he had obtained if he had not met with present opposition, though my number was but very small, not exceeding 450 hors and dragouns most new and ill armed men. My Lord, though I wold gladly see my family and litle intrest, not knowing if it be not in this winter saison, when I can promise that satisfaction to myself again in tyme of war ; I submit to his Majesties pleasur, but since my being here in a tyme when the ennemy cannot keep long in a body, is only or mostly in regarde of direction, if your Lordship wold be pleased to promot by the King my proposition touching Sir George Munro, who is a man though old, as fresh in his judgement and memorie as any man that ever I did see of his adge, and understands exactly the countrey, and the intrest of the Highlanders, and how to give directions for their suppression, I make no question but it wold contribut much to the service : the King needs not employ him in a generall character but to put him vpon the Pryvy Counsell, and let him have a pension of two or three hundred pounds yearly to help to keep him at Edinburgh. I am fully perswaded of his affection to the present cause, for I had occa-

tion to discours with him when I was in the North upon all maters relating to the present juncture of tyme and affaires, and had very good advice and satisfaction on that head from him ; moreover though I were to stay alwayes in Scotland, I wold wish to have such a man vpon the Counsell, perticullarly when the service should require my absence from the board ; pray then my Lord neglect not the representing of it to the King, for I can assure you that it is his service let other men alleage to the contrary what they will, for I declare that it is only a motion of myn, and that he nor none in his behalf hath ever broached it to me, and in so doinge, the King can safely spare mee for this winter out of the countrey, and next yeare his Majestie can judge where I can be most serviceable to him, in what command or quality he pleases, for I am not a man to value myself, because I am of opinion that not the servant but the master ought to be judge in that case, for I shall never be a mercenary servant to their Majesties, nor stand vpon conditions wherein they judge me vsfull for the promotion of their service.

But to return to the consideration of the forces, I pray your Lordship whatever the King resolve as to the foot, let not the hors and dragouns be reduced to a smaller number for a while yet, till things be better fixed in Ireland, and if his Majestie break more than 4 battaillons, they might be consider'd thus ; of Angus one battaillon, Glenkarns regiment, Mars regiment, Blantires and Kenmores, for certainly they are the worst, and Angus though the men be good it can make but one battaillon at present ; if the hors be kept ther is a necessity to regement them, for they shall not otherwyse be capable of serving so well nor be so well cared for ; I pray your Lordship to mynd the master of Forbes, who hath shewed as much affection to their Majesties service and the present cause as any man in Scotland ; as did also Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, who were very instrumentall to keep Aberdone and Bamfshires from joyning the ennemy when I was ingadged against them with small forces, before som was got on foot, I have no intrest therein but the Kings service, for they are neither my relations nor acquaintance till the occasion of his service

(by diftinguifhing themfelves therin), did make them known to me. I wifh things be accommodated there, (the moft leading men of the hous being up) before the nixt Seflion, God knowes that I feek no intrest thereby but the happy fetlement of the kingdom under the moft happy government of their Majefties, wifhing that all the world called protestants were fo felf-denied therein, as I thank God I am, for I have no quarell againft any, God knowes, but the publick quarell; and I may fay to the Scots as Samwell faid to the Ifraelites, that I have coveted no mans goods, nor ever thought to benefit myfelf therin to the prejudice of an other; yea the ennemys of my mafter can be my witneffes, that if I ufed any rigour (which was very litle, or none at all in comparifon of their deferts) it was fo lely upon the account of his fervice; after which proteftations, if I fhould offer any advice as to the prefent divifions, none I am fure can do it with more liberty, being engagded in no party or intereft, but that of their Majefties fervice, and the Proteftant religion, for I make no effentiall difference betwixt Prefbiterienifme and Epifcopacy, fo their be no offending fupperftition, neither feek I any eftablifhment or advantage in the kingdom. I crave your Lordships pardon for this long letter, but I cannot comprehend fo much of my mynd, (which I find myfelf obliged to communicate to you) in few words, I pray your Lordship to make fom reflexion upon the whole, and at convenient tyme to let his Majeftie fee it, fince I never repreſent things to him but by the Earle of Portland and your Lordship, knowing that neither of you will faile in what is of his true fervice, fo far as you can be informed of things. I am, my Lord, your Lordships moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

I doe not know what will becum of our regements except their [be] fom money ſent down by ſea, for wee can draw none here, Lauder hath brought along for his, but myn with Ramfays, and your ſons doe want much. I heare there is a fregate to cum down; therfor pray be pleaſed my Lord, to move the ſending fom down that way, at leaſt to the end of

Novembre, to ferve. Vander Efch knowes how much of it wee want as yet. Wee have had hitherto much adoe to get credit for them, but I have made fom litle for my own. If this occasion be let paffe, wee may be reduced to great neceffity. It were alfo fit more poudre, match and ball were fent down, for our magafins ought to be beter provided. The forces are generally ill armed, moft of them being match locks.

42. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbrugh, the 15th Octobre, 1689.*

I forgot to fhew you, that what reports you might have had when you wrote your laft from Newmarcket, of the rebells gathering again to a head, could not be tru, for I have no certain newes of it as yet, notwithstanding that upon the apprehenfions of fom of our friends in the north I order'd Sir Thomas Levingfton (whom I left with his own regiment, and 6 companies of hors in Aberdeenshire, to fecure the north when I was laft there, obferving the rebells motions, and to hinder them from profiting of their victory) to paffe over Spey over Muray, with eight troopes of the 12, which he had by him, nether doe I beleeve that they will cum in any confiderable body abroad this winter, and though they fhould, provided the King break not too many of the forces, and perticularly that he keep the hors and dragoons on foot, till he fee how the affaires fhall goe in Ireland; they fhall not do much harme, for they cannot lodge in the hills, nor fafly defcend to the low countrey for our hors and dragouns; it is not apparent that they fhall think of fortifying themfelves at Innerlochy, becaufe it wold be fo much worck don to our hand; their beft fortifications and fitteft for their purpos are the hills, woods and bogs. I have often intelligence out of thofe places; all that makes them fo oppiniatre, is the fpredding of fals newes among them, which was Dundies method, and is now cunningly contrived by the priefts. I pray you my Lord let your reflexions goe over the propofition which I made touching

Sir George Munro of Culrain, who is very fit to be in his Majesties counsell, for he is a man of long experience, and very affectioned to their Majesties and the present caufe. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

43. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbrugh, the 22d Octobre 1689.*

I have given my oppinion in my former leters concerning the forces, and how I apprehended that a cassation might give occasion to prolong the civill disturbances of this nation, by hardning the rebels against the government, and perticullarly that I was not of oppinion any of the hors and dragouns should be licenciat for this winter, nevertheleffe not knowing what raisons his Majestie might have to the contrarie, I have delay'd to make a finall disposition of both hors and foot to their winter quarters, till I know whether the King will keep the whole, or what parte of them he shall be pleased to intertaine in his pay and service, which resolution I wish your Lordship wold procure, and send down with all speed upon the forsaide consideration. I am of opinion that a battaillon of the Earle of Angufes regement ought to be intertained so long as his Majestie may have occasion for such, because they behaved well against the rebels at Dunkell, as a testimony of his Majesties esteem, but they ought to be a man of service put upon their head, for at this tyme they shall scarcely make up the number of six hunder men: nixt I doe judge that my Lord Strathnavers, and the Laird of Grant's regements are the best and completest; Barganys is composed of good men, but most of them Scots Irish, who came over last fomer. Argils regement needs mending, which he promised to doe; the rest I wrote to your Lordship of by my leters in answer to your last; the distance to garde from the rebels attempts is very spacious, from Dumbarton to beyond Inderneffe, and the motions of forces from one place to another, not only uncertain, but many tymes

impossible in the winter saison, as it hath been now for ten or twelve dayes together for the great rains and spets, and beleve me, my Lord, that it is power and not affection that makes many in this kingdom submit to their Majesties hapy government, which shews by what spirit they are led, and that the Jesuits have gone a great length to attaine their desseyn of wiping all conscience of religion out of the hearts of the inhabitants of this island, that theirs might find the more easie ingresse with them, for surely of the vast number of discontented spirits, we have raifon to beleve that very few of them wold prefer the Protestant Religion even to their estates, though their lyves were not in hazard thereby, so that such as have acces to his Majestie, and are resolved to stand or fall with and for his government, ought to advise him to fuitable meafures, without regarde of being at som extraordinary expence till things be beter secured, for arms are *journaliere*, so that his Majesties forces elfwhere (by many accidents which all the humane prudence in the world somtymes cannot prevent) might happen to receive som *eschec*, without indangering much the generall intrest of his service, if men be garded against them, which otherwyse might prove of a facheous suite, if men were not provided against the desseyens which a litle disadvantage wold set our ennemys upon from all hands; neverthelesse this is but my judgement, the value of which, I hop, wee shall not have occasion to essay. There is no newes here as yet of the Danish forces of which I admire extremely, the wind having been very good of a long tyme, and now at the wryting of this lyke to change. The English forces from here are landed in Ireland, and I wish ther were so many that the Duke were in condition to dispute for his winter quarters mere southerly, before either fiecknesse or the rigour of the weather oblige him to make use of such as are behind him. My Lord, I presse yet as the intrest of the Kings service, the putting Sir George Munro with a pension of 300<sup>li</sup> upon the Privy Councill, in doing of which, besydes the forsaide consideration, your Lordship hath that of your son, the Earle of Levens, being the first officer in rank in this kingdom in my absence, who, (though he be a person of as much capacity and firmity as can be found of his age and service

among his Majesties subjects, yea, and beyond men of much longer service in diligence and descretion, without flattering your Lordship) wold never the lesse be much the better of the solide directions of such an old and experienced souldier and statfman; he is altogether a Protestant, and for their Majesties government, and though he be more a Presbiterian, as I beleeve, then Episcopall, yet not bigotly attached to a rigicie in either, which, in my oppinion, is the more raifonable notion of the mater as to Scotland, if things could be concerted there, a setlement of a church government wold be very requisite in this kingdom. I pray your Lordship to let mee have assoon as possible his Majesties pleasure upon som of those heads, and beleeve mee allways, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

44. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbrugh, the 31<sup>st</sup> Octobre 1689.*

I have pray'd your Lordship in my last to dispatch down his Majesties finall resolution as to the forces (which shall be kept on foot for this winter,) to the end I may order them in quarters as shall be judged most convenient for repelling the Rebells attempts, and keeping the ill-affected in aw, till the tyme of the yeare be propre for their finall reduction with Gods blessing upon their Majesties arms so well here as elsewhere. As I said before, my oppinion is, not that they should be much retrenched in number, till things be further advanced and secured in Ireland, and I beleve that the readiest wayes for supplying of them with money for som mounths wold be, to ingadge such branches of the Kings revenues as doe not deppend of a gift of Parlement, to such persons as wold advance money upon them till they be repayed of what founs they shall advance, that being the most necessary charge which his Majestie can be at here; I was founding som persons allready upon the head, who doe beleeve money might be had thereby; I propofed nothing of it in counfell, neither doe I

oblidge the officers to recrute, but doe caufe pay them upon the foot of their prefent ftrength, till his Majefties further pleafur be known, which wold be fent without delay ; the very name of braking of forces at this tyme (our ennemys knowing that maters are not fo very cleare in Ireland as yet) wold make them more infolent, every litle appearance being ready to make them big with hops. Your Lordfhip hath never anfwer'd mee as to my propofition concerning Sir George Munro ; I have no other intrest in it but the Kings fervice, and I doubt whether any that fhall advyfe your Lordfhip to the contrarie do mind it fo fincerely, at leaft I can boldly fay, that none in Scotland is in this caufe and their Majefties fervice leffe interefted in any thing that I fhall advance touching the maters of this kingdom, where I have fo much occafion to difcover mens partiality generally ; all that I can fay as to the perfon I faid before, and though I were to be confined allwayes to this countrey, (which fhall never be with my confent longer then the neceffity of their Majefties fervice fhall require) I wold be very defyrours of the advyce of fuch a man, I pray then, my Lord, let me know the Kings pleafur concerning it, for I wold gladly leave his fervice here in as great fecurity as I can, holding for granted, that his Majeftie will permit mee to fee my family this winter if the Dains were paff on.

My Lord, Sir George Gordon of Edinglaflie, having diftinguifhed himfelf in affection and readynesse upon all occafions to ferve his Majeftie, and the intrest of the Proteftant religion, and the Pryvy Counfell upon the reiterat reports which I made of his unwearyed zeale and pains for the advancement of their Majefties fervice, having recommended him to the King for the firft vacant troop among the hors or dragouns ; and now the Laird of Blair being dead, I pray your Lordfhip to recommend him for his troop ; it will fhew others that his Majeftie is not infenfible of honeft mens fervices, and be more ferviceable in his hands then any two of the reft, for he is a brauve flurring man, befydes, my Lord, that he hath got a confiderable loffe in his hous and lands, which were intirely plundered, when I was oblidge to make a retreat of 2 or 3 dayes this foumer before the Highlanders to joyn more forces, at which tyme he abandoned hous

and all to cum joyn mee. I pray you, my Lord, let it not goe by him ; the old man that commands it provisionally is not so fit ; I can assure you none in Scotland will do more service upon the head of it then hee ; I pray you also to be myndfull upon occasion of the master of Forbes, tis a family that hath been kept at under these many yeares upon th' account that it was judged more Presbiterian then Episcopall, though allways very moderat, as is also this gentleman, one of the most generous youths and most thoroughly ingadged for this intreft of any I know in the kingdom, without the least regarde of what may follow, resolving to sinck or swim with it. I recommend then, my Lord, such to your Lordships care, and to the gracious marks of the Kings favour. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

45. LORD MELVILL TO MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

I receaved your's of the 31 past, and did communicat the samyn to his Majesty, as I allwise faithfully did all that you sent to me, but that you have not gott such returns as you desired or expected, severall interveening accidents may occasion the same. But you may assure your self I was allwayes cairfull both to represent what you desired and exactly to follow his Majesties commands in making returns to you. His Majesty read every word of this last of yours, but was so weary that he gave no orders thereanent, therefor yow gett not a full answere ; but before this come to your hand yow are acquainted with the Councils letter and additionall instructions to yourself, Sir George Monro, and my son ; I sent also your comission for being Generall Major of all his Majesties forces in Scotland, all which went away on Sabbath morning. There is great difficulty in disbanding either horse or dragoons ; want of money is a great hinderance to his Majesties affairs. By the additional instructions you have a greater latitude. In considering the difficulties you transmitted here, you give a

conjecturall opinion that there will be but about 4000 effectuell foot, which seems fraing, there being 6000 by the establishment of the Convention, besides the old and new garisons and independent companies, which, with the nine regiments, conform to the last muster-rolls, did extend to 6362 men. You see that his Majesty designs to transport a considerable number of these forces, and it will be fitt that whatever attempt be made by the Highlanders upon the low country, there be a force sufficient for to repress them, whereby of necessity some garrisons must be slighted, therefor it was very reasonable that his Majesty should be acquainted what places are necessary for garrisons and what not. That difficulty which yow propose anent the Lowland regiments not being acquainted with the country seems sufficiently answered, that if a certain number of the best experienced Highlanders shall be detached from their own regiments and incorporat with the South-country regiments, who are or shall be posted next to the rebels, seeing yow seem to be so much concerned for thir things that you represent, now I wonder there was not some touch of them in the difficultys transmitted here with the flying packet, not doubting of your zeall for the present intrest, and sincere affection to his Majesty service, as his Majesty evidences his entire confidence in yow. By refusing to grant to your desire, I shall forbear any further discanting upon the strain of your letter wishing that there may be no mistakes betwixt yow and your old friends, and that no insinuations of any persones with yow may have that influence to make yow entertain prejudices against those that with you well.

## 46. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh the 5<sup>th</sup> November 1689.*

I expected long er this that I should have received his Majesties finall orders concerning the forces pay'd in Scotland, for as I have wryten to the full formerly, I cannot make a finall disposition of them in garisons

and quarters till I know which, and what number of them the King will intertaine in his service : I have also delyver'd my oppinion fully as to the consequence of disbanding of forces during a standing rebellion in the kingdom, the unfetled state of the nation (divided generally in two factions, wherof the one doth not favour his Majesties government, and no doubt wold gladly lay hold upon the occasion to trouble it, if by disarming or otherwayes it were presented) and the only party in whom wee can trust, and which, I hop, will not be so mad as to act against his intrest that brought them so faisonable a deliverance, subdevided among themselves, which at least hath that bad effect of giving ground of hops to our ennemys, befydes that the present state of affairs in Ireland is not as yet so advantagious for us as wee expected, and our ennemys apprehended, by which, my Lord, you can judge, that my oppinion for not disbanding is not altogether groundlesse, but how to get them pay'd, I leave to others to propose it to his Majestie ; but so it is that I am told, that there is scarcely to cleare the precepts of the last mounth, and though the last post save one, I have wryten to your Lordship something concerning those branches of the revenues which run in course. I find by nearer information, that as things goe now, at the outmost extent they shall not make 40000<sup>lb</sup> Sterling a-yeare, befyds, that men are very unwilling to ingadge their effects upon such a fond, till they see things in a better settlement. I send your Lordship an account of what the payment of those forces doth amount to monthly, and supposing his Majesty in three or four months tyme, either will, with Gods assistance, have his affaires in Ireland better secured, (which will much secure this kingdom) or find, by way of a Parlement, means to pay what forces he may have use for here. If things might seeme to continu somewhat longer in a ballance in that kingdom, juge whether for the saving of the mater of 30000<sup>lb</sup> the least hazard for the government ought to be run, which, to redresse, haply wold cost six tymes more, befydes the diversion which the continuation of a civill war may occasion for his Majesties forces, which wold be more usefull elsewhere, and that the money wold be reimboursed againe, when his Majestie should think

fit to let the Parlement sit againe. If such of the English counsell as haply may oppose the advance of money for the security of Scotland, did but consider what great sommes Cromwell did spend to that same effect, judging he could never be secure in his government without securing Scotland to his intrest, certainly they wold not make so light a mater of it, and, I may say, wee have as many opposers, both in their designs and indeavours against their Majesties service and interest as he had, and as dangerous and difficult a conjuncture for England (by an untoward humour, dryving many of the inhabitants of those Protestant kingdoms downright against their own happynesse) as it was at that tyme, though the subject of the quarell now adayes be much more juste, and of a more indispenfable tie upon all Protestant consciences to support a government by which they have received so signall a delyvrance. By this state of the payment of the Scots standing forces, at their full number as they are now pay'd, a monthly loan of 11085<sup>lb</sup> Sterling wold doe the businesse, and if his Majestie think fit to reforme 5 battaillons (which is the half of the foot, for I am not for reducing any of the hors and dragouns as yet) in the other five, to make them better and fuller, it will lessen the soume to 7105<sup>lb</sup> Sterling monthly; making in 4 months 28420<sup>lb</sup>, for the rest of the expences may be had here, and I hop before those months be past, his Majestie will have other-ways ether to supply them or dispens safely with their service. I wish only a quick resolution to be taken; the forementioned Cromwell was triple that soume out upon each of four citadelles which he built in Scotland, beydes an armie which he maintained here upon English pay severall years, before he could draw any considerable sommes of this kingdom; and though his quarell was not good, it is not forbidden to follow his politick exemples in things wherein he may be lawfully imitated, these arguments tending only to shew how necessary he judged it for the safety of England to have Scotland well secured. I finde Sir George Munro much better disposed and more vigourous then when I did see him in the North, and very ready to serve his Majestie and his government to his outmost indeavour. He is here and gives your Lordship his

humble dutys. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and most obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

47. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, the 9<sup>th</sup> November 1689.*

Since my last to your Lordship, I have wryten in the same terms to the Earle of Portland concerning the forces, and the necessity both of keeping of them for the most parte on foot, and of a loan of money out of England, which no question may be returned when the Parleмент can meet again in a good humour, which I hop may be expected when they shall consider the prejudice their untymely disputes (granting they were in the right) is lyke to occasion to the nation, by leaving the most effenciall points for which they have so long strugled against the former governments, and was th' occasion of their greatest complaints and sufferings unfetled, when it was in their obtion to establish them by law. It were very fit, my Lord, that a speedy resolution were taken as to the forces, and that if his Majestie break any of them, the best officers among the whole were kept. I think streng that the English scruple so much to have Scots sent to Ireland, seeing they can imploy them as they doe other strangers, and send them away when their worck is don; for certainly it were better management to send them thither then to disband them, for I am perswaded they will serve his Majestie sincerely. The Earle of Glenkairns and the Lord Barganys regements are most composed of Irish; the said Earle is a very honest man and well affected to the present government, and he, with his predecessours, have suffered both upon th' account of loyalty and religion. Ther is no newes of the Dains as yet; I find the money orderd for their transport throw this kingdom very krimp, so that hors and foot, considered one with another, twill scarcely make eight shillings a man: I hop when they shall be imbarcked, or that

wee shall no longer expect them for this winter, that I shall have permission to goe up to London to wait on his Majestie and receive his commands for Holland; for I knew his Majesties resolution so short a tyme before our march last yeare, that I had none to leave orders for my litle concern there; befyds, that I see no necessity for mee here during the winter saison, perticularly since his Majestie is resolved to put Major Generall Munro in the Government. I can not sufficiently admire the stay of those Dains, the wind having been for so long a tyme continually good; haply good measures have not been taken for their provisions. I pray your Lordship to dispatch his Majesties pleasur as to the forces. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

48. SIR JAMES LESLIE TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Inverness, the 6 December 1689.*

I have receiv'd yours of the 14 fifteen dayes after the date; for it came by Captain Baxter, who was soe long by the way; but if it had come sooner, I could have put a garrison in Eclafs, but now it is impossible, (if the intelligence I have be true); for the enemie is drawing togeather in a verry considerable body, as you will find by the account I herewith send you. Your cannon and ammunition is not yet arriv'd, therefore am thinking vpon this vrgent occasion to send away a boate to gett it brought here, which we shall be in great want of, and, if possible I can, I will bring the cannon too. I shall give an account of this to Colonell Levingston, that, in case they should come, I might haue his assistance.

I am certainly inform'd, that 500 of the rebells were come to Vrquett; they threatned the Castle, but I looke vpon it to be in litle dainger, they haueing a fortnights or three weekes provisions.

I sent the last night Captain Grant vp with ten bowles of meale and ammunition, and 13 men and a fargeant of my regiment, and 12 of my

Lord Strathnavers; but the boat springing a leake by forcing her out of the river into the laugh, he tooke but 12 of my men and a fargeant, and sent the rest back againe.

I designe to fend for the three companies of Colonell Grants regiment this night or to-morrow, and will likewise fend for 120 men out of the two Castles, and think it convenient to strengthen myselfe as well as I can, they having a designe against this place, as it is whispered by the best intelligence I have. You know that my Lord Strathnavers regiment and Colonell Grants haue noe cloathes as yett, and are verry ill arm'd, for what service can be expected you best know yourselfe; but they are verry good bodies of men, but haue neither swords nor bagganetts. Whether the enemies designe be upon this place Ross, or Murray, I cannot tell; for, by the account I give you, they come in two bodies. It is reported, that they say, if they find us in such a condition as that they cannot atack us, they will burne all the corne and straw, the peates and mills round about us; and if they are of that strength they are reported to be, I am sure I shall not be in a condition to oppose them in the field.

I heare there is a battallion of foot come to Aberdeen, which, if they were here, they might be of great use; but whether it be true I am not certaine. My not heareing from you puts me to a greate deale of trouble, and the forces that are here are for ill paid, that a great many of them are quartering up and downe the countrey for feasts, which weakens the companies verry much, for that I cannot draw them for easiely together.

I have just now received a letter from Corremonie, your nephewes brother in law, that the Highlanders are come into the countrey of Vre-quett, with 4 or 500 men, under the command of Glengerry and my Lord Fredrick, and this night or to-morrow they expect Laugheale and Cannon with more forces. It is reported, that a great many of the M'Kenzie's are like to joine them, as likewise severall of the Fraziers. What offers, from time to time, shall informe, as becomes, honoured Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES LESLIE.

This is the account of what people, I am inform'd, will joyne them, beside the few Irish they have.

Colonell Cannon,  
Loughheale and his men,  
Glenco,  
Kepoch,  
The Badinoch men,  
The Strathharrick men,  
The Laird of M'Lean.

*These are designed to come on the south side of the Nefs.*

The Laird of Glengerrey of Knoder,  
The Captain of Glenrannald,  
The Laird of Murrar,  
The Laird of M'Donnald of Slait,  
The Kintaile men, and other of Seafort's Highlands,  
The Corryn hart and Strathglafs men,  
The Glenmorriston men,  
The Glenealge men, which were pressed out.

*These are on the north side of the Nefs, and, it is inform'd, they will make about 4000 att least.*

Upon this juncture of affaire have thought fitt to signe this letter, which I hope your Excellency will approve of; I haveing noe other designe but the good of their Majesties service and the preservation of the country.

I have given an order for Colonell Grant to take out his armes and cloathes out of the shipp above eight dayes agoe, soe hope, by this time, they have got them, and then they will be in a better condition to doe service then they are att present.

## 49. SIR JAMES LESLIE TO MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

HONOURED SIR,

*Inverness, the 9 December 1689.*

I have received the honour of yours of the 5th; and as for the billett you inclosed, which you judged came from the rebels, I believe there is nothing of it; for I must justifie the towne foe farr, that I find them upon all alarums to be verry willing to be in a readenefs; and we have never had foe much as one falling out, and there has never been any such thing as ravishing and lyeing with their wives. Colonell Jackson, who is here, will informe, that they are verry loyall, as farr as we can perceive. I have ordered them this day to be att their armes; and although I have had them severall times out before, yet I think it but reasonable that att this time I should know what men and armes I have to trust too; I judge they will be between three and four hundred.

I gave you an account that the Castle of Vrquett could containe three companies very well, and for a fires, four; but they being neither armed nor cloathed, could doe little service there, especially upon partys, they haveing only a few carrabines Duke Hamilton sent them; and if the reports be true, I shall have occasion for all the forces here. Nor is the maggaziene able to provide them with provisions; for what is in store I think it verry reasonable I should keep it here, not knowing what occasion I may have for it, especially haveing 60 out of the Castle of Brahan that has neither money nor provisions, foe must supply them here, and because I thought it not necessary to send them provisions, therefore have sent them 112 marke to buy them some.

I have likewise given Captain Grant, Commander of the Castle of Vrquett, 5<sup>lb</sup>, and am this day sending him ten bowles of meale more with candle, which money I must lay out of my own pocket, and it costs me two per cent. to gett, besides one per cent. to the officer for bringing it. As for the Castle of Eclas, I told you it was not in my power to doe any

thing in it, the ennemie being drawing togeather in a body ; nor can I conveniently spare ammunition, your cannon and ammunition being not yet come up.

My Lord Lovatt is now in towne, and assures me that none of his men shall joyne the rebells, though I apprehend the contrary. He is going to Edinburgh, foe what they doe in it shall inform you, that you may take your measures accordingly.

I have sent you two or three expreffes lately, but doe not find by any of yours that you have received any, which makes me wonder extreemly. I gave you notice of Major M'Kayes going away, and taking the prisoners along with him.

I have, according to your order this day, sent away the two prisoners.

I have writt to you severall times for an order concerning Pladds, but have never gotten one yett, or else I should have provided that garrison with Pladds ; but all I was able to give them was only 15 paire.

I gave you an account that I had four companies of my Lord Strathnavers regement here, and have been here these two moneths, but have neither cloathes and but bad armes, most of them being match-locks. His Lieutenant-Colonell is likewise here.

As for corne and straw for the troopes, it is noe easie matter to get it brought in here. As Colonell Jackson will informe you that I have not been wanting to use my endeavours, having quartred a party of twenty dragoones for their defect, but all to little purpose, the rebells threatning to burne and destroy all that supplyes us. However, have ordred three troopes to come from Elgin, one of them to quarter att Castle Steward, and the other att Bodlum, and the third at Collodon, foe I hope they will not be able to doe us much prejudice. I have likewise ordred three companies of Colonell Grants regiment from Elgin, and have given them orders to take out their cloathes and armes out of the shipp, as I inform'd you in my last.

Captain Grant gott verry safe to Urquett Castle, and informes me there

is not above 600, though at first he wrott me word there was 800. His letter I herewith fend you.

I believe your Excellency has had noe complaint from the towne of me or my regiment, for I endeavour to keep them in as good order as possible. I believe there is a great many, both of the towne and countrey, that gives intelligence to the ennemie, but you may be sure they will keep it from me ; but if I can find them out, shall secure them according to your orders. Colonell Jackson is here.

I have had a great fitt of the collick, but now I thank God it is verry well over ; I advise with him in all things that concerneis theire Majesties service, and have lett him see your letters directed to me. As for the officer of my regiment, I had noe reason to suspect him other then that he drank with my Lord Downe and Cannaries when he was here in towne, and that your nephew, Major M'Kay, inform'd me that he had seen a letter directed to my Lord Downe, wherein they desired him to keep him well affected to their party. He promised to shew me the letter, but never did, and I think it verry hard to ruine a man when there is noe manner of prooffe against him ; he is still interceeding with me for to give him leave to goe for England, soe if you think fitt shall give him leave, his father being dead ; and this he has been doing these three moneths, which is all I know of the bussiness.

You may be sure I will indeavour to carry myselfe as prudently and discreetly as I can, and shall be sure to obey your orders in what lyes in my power. Since the writeing hereof, I have received intelligence from Sir Alexander M'Kenzie of Coull, that my Lord Seaforts uncle is gathering all the strength he can, and is resolved to joyne the rebells. It is reported by him and severall others, that they design to come against this place, and that they are like to come verry well provided. I have likewise notice from the Sherrieff Deput, that the M'Kenzies will certainly joyne them with three or fowr hundred, but others makes them much stronger. He gives me notice that Corremonie is with the ennemie and severall others, soe that they play fast and loose as they think fitt. I shall

endeavour to put myfelfe in the beſt poſture I can, haveing given notice to all the countreys round about, as Roſs, Elgin and Murrey, to be in a readeneſs, and put themſelves in the beſt poſture they can for theire owne defence, having aſſured them of what aſſiſtance I can afford. Pray lett me heare from you, and know whether this comes to your hands, and you will oblige, honoured Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JAMES LESLIE.

50. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, the 12<sup>th</sup> December 1689.*

I ſend your Lordſhip the laſt account I had from Inderneſſe, where I have three regements of foot, four troops of hors, and three troops of dragoons, and have given order to four troops of Levingſtons regiment, with another troop of hors which lyes in quarters with him in Aberdeenſhire, to march thither if the rebells fall down in any formidable numbers. There is no hazard for the town of Inderneſſe, but I wold have the countrey protected as much as poſſible. With all I have ſignified to Sir James Leſlie (with whom I have joyn'd Lieutenant Collonel Jackson, ordering him to conſult all occurences with him) to call out all the fencible men of the countrey, if they will have their houſes and goods protected, which, if they did as unanimouſly as the rebells joyn againſt us, they needed not care much for their incurſions; but ſo it is, that, generally, ſuch as ſeem to be for their Majeſties government doe more temperife, and are more reſerved then its ennemys are, which argues a ſervil ſpirit in them as well as great folly; however, it lets us ſee that the King cannot well retrench the forces here till the countrey be ſettled; which, if the rebells get no aſſiſtance from other parts, may be effectuated with Gods aſſiſtance tynely the next ſummer, if his Majeſtie will ſend down three fregats, by whoſe help haply the iſles (which make their moſt conſiderable force) might be

reduced before the tyme of marching to Lochaber to plant a garrifon. I sent a memorandum to the Earle of Portland of things necessary for that expedition, which, if not tymeely consider'd, we shall be reduced to the same unprovided condition as before, and all the blame (by men that doe not understand the trade at least) will lye at the Commanders door, for they consider nothing but marching to the ennemy with our finger in our cheek, as some have had the confidence, or rather the ignorance, to say, I should have marched to Lochaber after the reduction of Athol, when not only the continuall rains to which the troupes were there exposed for 10 or 12 dayes, without tents or any other cover, rendering the least brooks impassable, and which lasted continually in this countrey for two full mounths thereafter, but could not get them at that place furnished with provisions though neare. How should wee then be able to subsist so far off, by which your Lordship may easily judge (all circumstances considered) that nothing but the regarde of their Majesties service, and the cause which hath so neare a relation to the maintenance of their government, could render this countreys service supportable to a man, which I may without vanity affirme, is in a great measure disinterested, in comparison of men who haply will be ready to blame mee if things succeed not to their fancy; therefore, my Lord, since all the perticullar intrest I have in it, is to conserve my little reputation, I pray it be not exposed when the los of it can be no service to the King but to the contrary, so long as he intrusteth me with this service.

I have ordered the Earle of Argyll (with two regements and what men he can make of his dependencie there) to Argyllshire, who, if he wold apply himself more, might make much a better figure then he hath don hetherto (for he hath a considerable command of men) and render Braid Albin (who is one of the cunningest temperifers in Britain) insignificant, if he did but use the same authoritie over his name as his predecessors have don. This is all at present from, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

The designe of sending those forces to the shire of Argyll is to make a diversion, and haply if wee had ships to forme a deffein up the isle of Mull at first, and according to the successe upon the rest, which cannot be undertaken but with great uncertaintie and hazard of the interprysers, without the help of ships, of which those Islanders are much affrayd. Want of pay for the forces of this kingdom will occasion great disorders I am affrayd.

51. THE KING TO THE EARL OF LEVEN, MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY  
AND SIR GEORGE MONRO.

WILLIAM R.

Right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, right trusty and welbeloved Councillor, and trusty and welbeloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee are resolved to have our forces of that our ancient kingdom new modelled, and that the regements of foot may consist of thirteen companies each, and sixty fentinells in each company, and of each regiment one company to be Granadiers, and each troop of horse and dragoones to consist of fifty men: Therefore Wee authorise and empower you to make up seven regiments of foot, three troops of horse, and three troops of dragoones out of the present standing forces, to be commanded by the persons contained in the Instructions under our royall hand herewith sent; And Wee further empower you to choose and nominate such Lieutenant Colonells, Majors and other inferiour officers for the Foot, and Lieutenants and other inferiour officers for the Horse and Dragoones as you shall judge most proper, out of the whole standing army; or such other persons as you shall find well qualified for the stations in which you are to place them, and to transmitt a list of the same to our Secretary, that their names may be filled up in commissions accordingly; And Wee recommend to you to proceed in this with such due care and secrecy as the matter doth require, and as you tender the good of our service. For doing whereof this shall be your warrant; and so Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Holland House, the 18<sup>th</sup> day of December 1689, and of our Reigne the first year. By His Majesties Command,

MELVILL.

*To our right trusty and welbeloved cousin and counsellor, our right trusty and welbeloved counsellor, and our trusty and welbeloved, David Earle of Leven, Hugh Mackay, Major Generall of our Forces, and Sir George Monro.*

52. INSTRUCTIONS to our right trusty and welbeloved cousin and counsellor, our right trusty and welbeloved counsellor, and our trusty and welbeloved, David Earle of Leven, Hugh Mackay, Major-Generall of our Forces, and Sir George Monro.

#### WILLIAM R.

1. You are to review and modell the fix regiments commanded by the Earle of Angus, the Earle of Argile, the Earle of Glencairn, the Lord Viscount of Kenmore, the Lord Strathnaver, and the Laird of Grant, and you are to forme a regiment to be commanded by Cunningham. Of the said seven regiments three are to remain in that our ancient kingdome, and the other four to be employed for our service in Ireland.

2. You are to appoint the above seven regiments to consist of thirteen companies each, and sixty men in each company, and one company of each regiment to be granadiers.

3. For making up the said regiments, you are to disband the three regiments of the Earle of Mar, Lord Blantire, and the Lord Bargeny.

4. You are to disband all independent companies, and what officers of them as are fit for our service, you are to employ in stations proper for them as our service requires.

5. You are to appoint fit persons to be Lieutenant Colonells, Majors, and other inferiour officers to the foresaid seven regiments.

6. You are to imploy what officers you judge fit for our service, that were in the three regiments which you are to disband, or in the independent companies.

7. You are to turne out of any of the regiments what officers you think unfit for our service, and put others who are well qualified in their places.

8. You are with all expedition, to transmit an account at what places it is absolutely necessary to keep garrisons for suppressing the rebels, and what number of men will be required at each place.

9. For compleating of the above regiments, you are to take the men out of such garisons as are not necessary to be kept up.

10. You are to forme the souldiers of the three regiments which you are to reduce, into companies by themselves, so far as they will goe, and what officers you think fit to imploy of the said three regiments, whether Capitaines, Lieutenants or Ensignes, you are to allow them to command in their severall stationes their own men, that the souldiers may be the better kept together.

11. Being informed that some regiments continue still in the places where they were raised and may not be so fit there for our service, therefore you are to order such regiments to march to some other place of the country where you shall find convenient ; and you are to order some of those men that came from Holland to march where they were, if thought necessary.

12. You are to modell three troops of dragoones, each troop to consist of fifty men, and the Lord Cardross to be Colonell and Captain of one troop, Robert Jackson to be Lieutenant Colonell and Captain of another troop, and Patrick Home of Polwart, to be Captain of the third troop, and Guthrie to be Major without any troop.

13. You are to modell three troops of horse to be commanded by the Earle of Eglington, the Master of Forbes, and Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, each troop to consist of fifty troopers if more troops cannot conveniently be maintained.

14. You are to appoint fit Lieutenants and other inferiour officers for the said troops of horse and dragoones.

15. You are to compleat such regiments first as you think most proper for our service.

16. You are to transmitt a list of such officers as you nominate to George Lord Melvill our secretary, that they may have their commissions accordingly. Given under our Royall hand and signet, at our Court at Holland House, the 18<sup>th</sup> day of December 1689, and of our reigne the first year.

W. R.

53. DIFFICULTIES to be humbly represented to the King, touching his late Instructions for modelling the Forces till they be payed of their arrears.

That if any regements or troupes be broke before they are payed of their arrears, it is to be feared that they shall mutinie, which in the present unsettled state of the kingdome might prove of a bade consequence, and would undoubtedly fortifie the Rebellion.

This is granted  
for 4 regiments.

That the regements which are designed to stand, whither for the service of this kingdome, or to be sent hereafter to Ireland must have present subsistence, before it be proceeded to modell them, otherways that it cannot be expected that they can be kept together, or got recruited or bettered, because they shall disband and not subject themselves to discipline.

That if any waies  
be fallen upon for  
subsistence to  
more troupes, they  
be kept up.

That if the horse and dragouns be disbanded, the King will undoubtedly loose the horse and furniture, besides that the men which have now been on foot and accustomed to ride, shall be much more serviceable for the next campaign, then such as shall be newly levied, and therefore ought to be kept at 12<sup>d</sup> a day for a horse, and 9 pence a dragoun, for subsistence, (the officers serving till the parliament meet without pay) rather than to be at the loss of them to the King, for the sparing of so small a summe of money.

That the 4 regements which his Majesty designs for Ireland, ought, so long as they are in Scotland to be payed upon the same foot with the three that are to stay here; and therefore if his Majesty send down money

for ther subsistence, upon the foott of other English troupes, the over plus This granted. may helpe for the subsistence of the other 3 regements for the said tyme of ther stay in this kingdome.

That the said subsistence would be ordered doune without delay, and in the mean while Mr. Feelding, controlleur generall of the provions for This granted. Ireland ordered to advance what money he heath by him till bills be sent doune to supply him or money sent to Newcastle, or along with the Dainish horse, when they come to Scotland.

That his Majestie be humbly prayed to explicate his royall pleafour touching the castle of Stirling, because the Earle of Marr, being heritable This granted. governour, is alwayes Captaine of the company in garifone ther, and therfor judged that it ought to continou independent. As also concerning the castle of Dumbarton, the Basse and Blacknefs being but finall garifons, in- This may be done by keeping a company fewer. convenient to be furnished out of regements, none of them being capable to receive a company, Dumbarton being of 40 men, and the rest not above 20 each.

That so neare as may be guesfed by the present disorderly state of the forces payed in this kingdome, the 10 battallions of foott, will not make Regiments, that for Ireland must first be made up. above 4000 effective men, so that to make up 7 regiments each at 780, will take ods of 1500 new recruits to compleit them, which is feared will be ill to be gott, ther being no levie money, and the people haveing gotten ill impression of the service, because of ther late ill payment.

It is humbly represented, that notwithstanding his Majesties Instructions to us have bein positive, the forsaide inconveniences occurring to our judgements in case of our present proceeding therto, we have judged it for the safetie of his service rather to delay it for the space of eight dayes ; in which tyme his Majestie having considered further of them may signifie his finall pleafour, in hopes this effect of our tendernes of the interest of his service, shall not be misconstrued.

LEVEN.

H. MACKAY.

SG. MONRO.

## 54. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinburgh, the 21 December 1689.*

Your Lordships of the 12th I had two posts agoe, but have received nothing as yet from my Lord Portland or by Colonel Cunningham. It hath been my oppinion, that, in the beginning of such a signal change, considering that all such as did goe along with it could not be supposed to have been acted by truly christian and self-denyed principles, but that many of them had too great a regarde to the perticullar advantages which they proposed to themselves thereby. I say my Lord, it was my oppinion, that the people should have been in some measure humoured, though thereby some persons in esteem by his Majestie might for a tyme be deprived of the outward marks of his royall favour, for the words of Solomons counsellors are not in vaine recorded, who said to his son, if thou be a servant to this people for this one day, then will they be thy servants for ever; if my indeavours or direction, or person or interest, can contribute any thing to his Majesties service and the promotion of this cause, your Lordship needs no wayes to question it, hoping that God (who hath been the author of so signall a deliverance, at the point of tyme when the ruine of the Protestant interest was projected and far advanced in the counsells of men) will return (after he hath let vs see how little wee have to trust to our own prudence or force) to be (in all such as he in his providence hath call'd, or shall call, to have any direction in the advancement of this cause) for a spirit of judgement to them that sit in judgement, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate.

I confesse, that when I consider that Proverb, whereof our Saviour made use against the false calumnies of the Jews as to his miracles, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand, I think I might have some grounds of apprehension of the fall of Scotland in some notable disaster; for there is nothing but divisions and factions in Parlement, in Council,

in the Church, and in the Countrey; but when I make reflexion that it is the undoubted truth of God for which wee stand up, and which I question not but our King and som of those whom he doth imploy, (whether in the cabin or in the feeld,) doe sincerely mynd, and prefer incomparably above all temporall considerations, (which in comparifon are but a vanity;) I cannot but have som lyvly hop, that he will not leave unperfected a delyvrance which his providence hath thus far advanced, and for the accomplishment whereof, ther are, without doubt, many faithfull prayers daily put up to heaven in all Protestant Churches of the world; considering withall, that it is not for our sins and crimes against God (though numerous and conscious to every one of us) that wee are hated of our ennemys, but for our adherence to his saving truth. I hop he shall doe it for his own great names sake which is invoked upon (and by) us, and for his truth, which, by their advantages over us, wold be spoken against and blasphamed by the ennemys thereof; therefor, though I am of oppinion that the means to prevent trouble and unfaifonable devifions ought to be diligently and carefully used, I labour to support all wayes my hop by the contemplation of Gods all mighty power, and over all present providence and direction, overruling all the actions of his creatures good and bad, so that all things must tend to the end which he hath propofed to himself concerning them, in his eternall, unchangeable, righteous and holy counsell; and as he wanteth not innumerable means unconceivable to us to redresse that which wee in our finit judgement think is redressable, so is he bound to no means; therefor, my Lord, let every faithfull servant of God, called to any publick administration, make use of such reflexions for his support in difficulties, but not for an occasion of tempting providence by neglecting the means; for I must take the liberty to say, that the intreft of the service, and the means of restoring the peace in Scotland, hath been too long neglected, and that for my own parte I had lost my patience so far, that I often wished I had never been imploy'd in it, but I consider that the heart of the King (who hath made choice of mee for service) is in the hand of the Lord, from whose providence I also wait

for a favorable success there to, notwithstanding of all those difficulties and clouds overshadowing this comfortable blink of the deliverance of the Protestant Churches of Europ, which he can quickly dissipat after he hath tryed our faith, and retired our confidence from the arm of flesh to fix it in him. The tenour of your Lordships leter (which seemed as well to regrave as to apprehend the present state of affaires dangerous at that rate, that the Protestant intrest may be judged to lye again at stake) hath given occasion to this discours, and assure yourself, my Lord, that if the prospect of all the advantages which the world can propose should cum in the ballance, it wold weigh in my estimation no more then the wind in comparison of the Protestant intrest, for which, with Gods strength, I shall chearfully sacrifice all that can be deare to me on earth, which is all at present from, my Lord, your Lordships most humble servant,

H. MACKAY.

55. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbruch, the 31 December 1689.*

I finde by his Majesties late order for modelling and reducing the Scots forces, that little regard is had to what I have reiteratively wryt upon that subject, which I cannot question, but hath been lay'd open before his Majesty; therefor I must conclude, that ther is more credit given to some other mens relation of matters belonging to my profession, and depending of the characters which I beare here, of Commanding in Chief their Majesties forces then to myn, for which I wold not be in the least offended, if I did not see that those informations doe not only level at mee as incapable to judge of the most convenient places for garisons, or what sort of forces are most fit to be lodged in the different places of the kingdom, but also are against the service; for whoever hath informed, that well affected Highlanders being formed in regular bodys, are not the fittest for the Highlands, and to be employ'd in the houses next adjacent to the Highland

Rebells, have informed very ill ; for wee know the contrary by experience of late, that when wee place fouth countrey men and strengers in those Highland countreys among the hills, they dare not flur a foot from their garifon, by raifon they cannot trust to the guidance of the countrey men who are about all our garifons, and ennemis in their heart to our Kings service, and this intrest in generall. About Inderneffe wee have the MacKenzies and the Fraifers, of the behaviour wherof I have sent your Lordship lately a letter, and doe send you hereby one received to day. If they have given over their designe, tis by raifon of a suply of hors and dragouns lately sent thither, which body (I mean of hors and dragouns) if the King will break, (as I hop he shall not,) I am apprehensive he shall not be long master of the north, and will cost him more then the keeping of them for a few months more can stand him to recover it. The Laird of Grants regiment in the north about Inderneffe have made lately out of houses where they are partly posted som succesfull interpryses upon their neighbouring rebells, because they know the convenience of the ground, which our other forces placed in Blair of Athol, Finlanrig, Braymar and other places, are not capable to doe, because they are strengers in the country, and cannot trust to the inhabitants ; so that, my Lord, whoever medles to give the King advyce for changing the regements from one place to another of the kingdom, without consulting him who commands his forces here, doe take a litle too much upon them, and happily by the consequence more then they could well justifie ; being, in my oppinion, one of the things most regarding the Commanders judgement, being in the country, and supposed to have had the necessary informations, wherupon to ground his mesures in the disposition of the forces. My Lord, as to houses which are not necessary to be garifoned, I know none, except the want of forces to supply them render them necessary to be abandon'd ; for the houses of Brahan and Castle Leud, belonging to the Lords Seaforth and Tarbot, when they were garifoned, it was judged very necessary, as it is yet, for all that som men may say to the contrary, not so much to offend the ennemy, as to cover the well affected in Rosseshire from the

degradations, not only of the open Rebels, but also from the ill affected Mackenzies and Fraifers, who rob them under the colour of the said Rebels. You find, by the inclosed, as well as the other I sent a while agoe, that they were for certain in arms; for Sir James Leslie (no more then I) hath no other quarell against them but upon the publick account. My Lord, I have many reasons to be weary of this command, and to wish, with all my heart, som other might be pitched upon to supply it; for such as are fed with the fancy of great ambition and expectations, and haply have not experienced so many different faces of that which men call fortune as I have, and are younger to recover a lost reputation, may undergoe such difficultys more cheerefully, without examining them so narrowly; but, my Lord, I am not lodged there, and, therefore, when I have not wherewithall, I can advance and humanly secure the interest of the service, I had rather quit all expectations, though they were more apparently advantageous, then ever I did forme them in my own mynd, then appeare upon the stage to my confusion. It was my lot allwayes to serve his Majestie with more difficultys then any other of my charge, at which I wold never repyne, God knowes, in this quarell, if my concern were alone interested thereby; for I wish this interest did goe well, and were ours well secured, though I were to morow reduced to a piece of bread; and I wish also, with all my heart, that all who pretend zeale for it were of the same mynd, for then wee should not see the King so ambarraffed in his affaires at this tyme, as I have apprehended of a long tyme he should be, and now find it to my regrate. My Lord, I could say much more upon the subject, but tis late; and the post waiting, so that I can ad no more, then that I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

## 56. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*December 1689.*

If I did not judge it absolutely my duty (however it may happen to be taken) so long as I am here, to represent persons and matters, as I can judge most advantageous for their Majesties service, and the reestablishment of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, I had long since given over to wryt, because I seldom or never get the satisfaction to know whether any thing I propose be had in any regard or the contrarie. I remember to have wryten severall tymes of the Scots hors, that they wold never be fit for service if they were not regemented; I heare now from other hands that they are to be so, but I doe not know if any regard be taken of the Master of Forbes, who, I am sure, hath don more for their Majesties service this yeare, then many that make greater pretensions, and though he be such a person, as I am persuaded doth not serve this cause upon principles of self intrest, when ther are neverthelesse som charges to be distributed, which might help to accommodat a family, which (though of a considerable following) is not of the richest, and so intirely ingadged in their Majesties intrest, I am of oppinion that it wold be of good exemple such were not neglected, for I can beare him witnesse (who have had occasion to remarke mens temper in this kingdom) that from one end of Scotland to the other, none hath been more through stick and cordiall in this cause, nor made better figure (keeping all the countrey about him, which abounded with ill affected people for this government, in aw) then hee, and hath been of very good use to mee when I had but fev or no forces to oppose a great multitude of rebells. I understand from the Earle Leven that your Lordship hath spok for Edinglassie; one thing I wold have your Lordship to advert unto, that if the representations of such as shall command at any tyme their Majesties forces in this kingdom be altogether neglected, perticularly in tyme of war and civill troubles, his credit is presently out, and can act no further then juste command what regular forces

he hath, which, in the beginning of this last summer, had not don the buffineffe, if my credit with som familys had not got them to joyn with mee; and though I am hopfull that whosoever shall command hereafter, shall not have so much need of such shifts, neverthelesse, since the affaires of the world are so evidently subject to strange revolutions, there is no doubt but such as doe well ought to be encouraged, to be a good exemple to others. I know your Lordship hath much to doe, and if I knew to whom to addresse so fitly what touches the service here as to your Lordship, I wold not a given you so much trouble, but I forgot to desyre the Kings explication upon that point; and now since I am in expectation that his Majestie will give me som months of this faison, wherin I can doe but litle service here, to look after my family, and labour to leave it in som better order then I left it last, upon such a short warning as I had from his Majestie, I doe not think it worth the pains to change methods, or look after another corespondent at Court. Ther is one Van Hill, Capitaine in the Earle of Levens regiment, a very good officer, who hath served long among hors. If the troops be designed for regiments, he wold be a very fit Major for one of them, for certainly theyl need in each regiment at least a Major that served abroad and among hors; this is of the nature of all my other recommendations, that is, men in whom I have no intrest but that of the service; for since I came to Scotland I doe not remember that I recommended a relation of myn but Major Mackay, who was put by, though he had the grant of it before from the King; but any wrong which may happen to be don to mee or my relations, over whom I shall have any power, shall never lessen the number of their Majesties faithfull servants; for I doe thank God for it, that neither the passion of ambition, or desyre to be accommodated with abundance of temporall convenience, doth ever disquiet my mynd. I expect dayly orders concerning the Dains, for if they be shipped out of England to Ireland, the ships must goe thither. I gave present account of what I knew to Master Blaithwait. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

57. ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS to our right trusty, and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, and our righty trusty and welbeloved Councillors, David Earle of Leven, Hugh M'Kay, Major-Generall of our forces, and Sir George Munroe of Culrain.

WILLIAM R.

Notwithstanding of our former Instructions from what you represent, Wee find ground to make the following alterations.

1. You are to consider for how many you can find subsistence by methods within your owne power, and if that fall short of the number proposed by us formerly, you are to advise with our Councell (before you proceed to modell and disband) to know what they can propose for subsistence to the number mentioned by us, or more if they think fitt, and can find subsistence for them; and after you have found what the fonds will sustain, you are then to proceed to modell them accordingly, and to disband the rest for making up of the regiments and troops that are to stand for your better performance, whereof Wee have ordered our Privy Councell to give you their concurrence.

2. If the fonds of subsistence money shall not amount to so much as will maintain the numbers formerly proposed by us to you, you are to appoint the regiments to consist of fewer companys than what We mentioned in our former Instructions.

3. And to the effect that the troops which are to stand be compleated, you are to devide the troops commanded by the Earle of Annandale, and Lord Rofs (if the rest are to be kept up) amongst the standing troops for compleating them; if otherwise to disband them.

4. You are to appoint the company in the Castle of Stirling, now commanded by the Earle of Marr, to continue an independent company, and not to be regimented, and to consist of           centinells; and likewise what

numbers you shall appoint for the garrisons of Dumbarton, Blacknefs and the Bafs, to be independent, and Arakin of Alvas company, now in the Caffe of Stirling, you are to appoint to be one of the regimented companies.

5. You are not to levy any more foot for making up the feven regiments untill fome new fond be confcended upon for their fubfiftance.

6. If the ten battalions be fo far fhort of their numbers as you conjecture, you are to enquire who have been guilty of falfe mufters.

In all other matters, Wee referr you to our former inftructions, excepting in fo far as they are hereby innovated.

Given under our Royall Hand, and Signett at our Court at Kenfington, the 4<sup>th</sup> day of January 16<sup>80</sup><sub>90</sub> and of our reigne the firft year. By His Majeftys command,

MELVILL.

58. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbrugh, the 13<sup>th</sup> Januar 90.*

Finding the bearer hereof, Captain Hill, of the Earle of Levens regiment, an officer which can be very ufefull to me for the enfuing campaign, (being a perfon understanding pretly well both foot and hors, particularly the later, and to the boot, a sober, diligent and carefull man) I pray your Lordship to recommend him to the King from me, for the charge of Ajutant Generall of his forces in Scotland, having hitherto had great want of a capable perfon for that charge, both as to the regular diftribution of orders, muftering of the forces, and bringing of our small cavallerie upon fom foot of fervice. I beg then that his Majeftie for the intrest of his fervice, (which neceffarily, in fpyt of mee, will be neglected if I have not the ordinary helps) may be pleased to grant Captain Hill a commiffion for the faid charge; and further, to allow me two Aides de Camp for the enfuing campaign, for in thofe particullars I ought not to

be consider'd as a Major-Generall under superiour Commanders, but as Commander in Chief of so many forces, and in an occasion much doth deppend upon the having a set of good men for the speedy and regular distribution of the orders, and is greatly the reason that I cannot be so sure of the state of the forces when seperat as otherwyse, being obliged to make use of the officers of one regiment to muster another for want of such officers, upon whose report I could make more state. If his Majestie be pleased to grant the forsaide commission to Captain Hill, he may be imploy'd to see dispatch'd such supply of arms, ammunition and other necessaries, as he shall resolve to let me have for the carrying on, and with divine assistance, ending of this war, according to a memoriall which I shall send up to that effect. I pray your Lordship to forward this solicitation, as also the dispatch of the necessary supplies wherof wee cannot be furnished here; for though no man breathing shall, with Gods assistance, more cheerfully encounter all sortes of difficultys for this cause and their Majesties service then I shall doe, yet where they can be remedied, I ought not to be overcharged. I shall give his Majestie by the post account of the particullars; my earnest desyre is, that we might make a considerable progres in the reduction of the rebellion in this kingdom before the opening of the campaign in Ireland; and in order to our airy camping (notwithstanding wee are cloathing for the third tyme since our cumming to Scotland) I have given order for making furtouts for all the regements pay'd out of England, as also tents, in case the ingredients can be had here. If it please God they doe well, his Majestie can allwayes consider their losses and expences, but till then I shall not solicit for them were they at never so much. This is all at present from, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

59. INSTRUCTIONS to Our, trusty and welbeloved Councillor, General Major Mackay, Commander in Chief of our forces in Scotland. Feb. 1690.

WILLIAM R.

Yow are to take and apprehend the person or persons of them who shall be given yow up in a list subscribed be our right trusty and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, George Lord Melvill, and any three of our secret councill, as practisers against the government, and carry them securely prisoners into the Castle of Edinburgh.

Upon what information yow have of any private persons under your command or otherway's, that are delated as practisers against the government, yow are immediately to secure them, and to keep them clost prisoners till they be delivered to the Councill, or any having their order to receive them ; and this shall be your warrant. Given under Our Royall hand and Seal, at Our Court at Kennington, the                      day of February 16<sup>th</sup><sub>90</sub>, and of our Reigne the first year.

W. R.

60. INSTRUCTIONS from Major-General Mackay, for Major Ferguson appointed to command in chief the detachment of 600 men, which are to be shipped at Greenock and to go about to the Isles and waft of Lochaber, and for Captain Pottinger, commanding their Majesties ship the Dartmouth, with the rest of the squade under his command.

1. The said Major and Captain shall doe all things communicatively, and digeste their resolutions betwixt themselves before they communicate them to others.

2. They are expressly charged, that no divisions be among them upon

the mater of their undertakings, which may prove prejudiciall to the service, but that they resolve and do every thing unanimously and with one accord, the Captain submitting to the judgement of the Major as to landings and undertakings against the ennemy by land, if occasion should offer visibly favourable thereto, and the Major submitting to the Captains judgement as to sea affaires.

3. The main desseyne of this detachment being to make a diversion, allarme the rebells coasts, cut their communication with the Islanders now in rebellione against their Majesties authoritie, and to take away or burn all their boats and birlins whether in the Isles or allong the coasts of the rebells upon the firme land; the Major is to undertake nothing as to landing but upon visibible and apparent advantages and humane assurance of successe.

4. If the Major should see palpably, that with a renforce of three or four hunder men more he might master the Island of Mul, he shall presently give notice thereof to the Laird of Arckinlas, Shirif-deput of Argylls shire, who is to have order from the Earle to assist him with that number of the most resolut and best armed men of the shire, and such as will willingly and cheerfully be employed in that service and against that ennemy, and that with all possible diligence that the occasion may not be lost by delays.

5. That their first interprise be against all the ennemis boats, to the end they be render'd incapable to succour with men or provisions one another, and so be reduced to extremities, and haply to submit.

6. That upon giving up all their arms, as well swords as guns, delyvering over all places of strength, and swearing allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, the Major forsaide is hereby authorized to give protection to the inhabitants of the Isles, but not to their chiefs but by casting themselves in the King's mercy and delyvering their persons prisoners to the said Major, who in that case is required to treat them civilly.

7. Hee shall take nothing from such persons and countreys as shall sub-

mit upon the forsaide conditions, but a necessary supply of provisions to his men and ships, and that moderately ; and upon the contrarie shall use with all the rigour of military executions, such as shall continu obftinat in their rebellion, with this proviso, that women and children be not touched or wronged in their persons.

8. The said Major commanding in chief shall have speciall care his men be kept under exact discipline both as fouldiers and christians, to hinder curfing and swearing, and all other unchristian and disorderly customs, and to chastise in their purs or persons, such as persist in them after intimation.

Being upon the coast he shall wryt to the Laird of Macleod, signifieing that he hath order to succour and protect his countrey in case he be molested by those of his neighbours in rebellion, and that the government and I are well satisfied with his behaviour hitherto, knowing that so long as our assistance was so far distant wee could not expect his oppen declaring for their Majesties government ; but now as it is our resolution not to abandon him, so it is our expectation that he shall declare himself freely for us and against our ennemis, and so joyn forces.

#### 61. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Edinbrugh, the 6th Februar 1690.*

I had your leter of the j February. I question not but you have your hands very full of affaires, and I am persuaded that his Majestie is so extremely thronged with affaires, of all sorts, that its no mater of admiration that he can not so quickly dispatch orders as those who are intrusted with any direction in the carying on of his service wold gladly have them, seeing what prejudices delays may occasion thereto ; and truly my Lord, as no man (be it said without vanity,) serves this intrest with lesse regarde to his own then I doe, so none is more grieved when I see any wrong steps made therein. The raison is palpable, for having no other object to

divert my thoughts I have them allwayes fixed there, nevertheleſſe to litle purpoſe if I have no beter concurrence then hitherto. I have laid before the King, fully my judgement as to what ought to be undertaken airly this ſpring, and if the litle aſſiſtance which I deſyred were tymely ſent, with the three ſmall fregates which his Majeſtie promiſed, and order to the Pryvy Counſell for what further concurrence the ſtate of affaires here at preſent may be capable of, I queſtion not but with Gods aſſiſtance, to be able to give a good account of the Highland rebellion before the end of April, the weather proving any thing favourable. I expect therefor my Lord, that I may be advertiſed tymely what ſupply I can expect from London of the things I wrot for, to the end if it were poſſible the defects might be ſupply'd here, which never the leſſe I can make but little ſtate upon, all things conſider'd; beſyds my zeale for their Majeſties ſervice, and the intreſt of our holy religion; my longing to be out of this countrey, (where I can never expect to be gratfull to men, becauſe I neather doe nor never ſhall eſpouſe any faction which I diſpaire to ſee extinguish'd therein,) ſhall be a ſufficient argument to mee, to promote (ſo far as in me lyes) what may contribut to the peaceable eſtabliſhment of their Majeſties happy authoritie in this kingdom.

I know I have my enuemis, but they may well perhaps (as underſtanding the trade better then I,) cenſure my conduct, but I wold never the leſſe advyſe them to conſider that the King is a Prince that will hear mens raifons, and that I want not myn, of which thoſe that wold condemn mee without hearing, haply doe not know the weight, but I deſſie the malice of all the earth to finde a deſigned wrong ſtep (as to what his Majeſtie hath intruſted me with) in my conduct.

I have ſent my Lord your ſon to muſter the forces beſouth Aberdeen, who hath brought me an exact account of their ſtate. My Lord, I doe not uſe to flater any, and therefor take it for none that I tell you, I am very well ſatiſfied with his conduct as to any thing I imploy him in the advancement of his Majeſties ſervice; the truth is, though our forces are none of the beſt, my greateſt want is of officers capable to command a ſeperat body,

though I beleeeve fuch of them as have ferved be good refolut men ; but the chief direktion is not every officers talent, though in this fo large and feperat winter quarter, I could give but very imperfect direktion from fo far, fo that neceffarily it muft needs have refted moftly upon the perticullar commanders difcretion, excepting fom generall inftructions from tyme to tyme according to the notion I had of the ennemy and the countrey.

I wifh the King wold declare the Scots regements which he defigns for Ireland, that they may be brought fouth if any of them be in the north ; I have never doubted but your Lordfhip did communicat my leters to the King, for they allwayes touch leffe or more his fervice, wherof he ought to be all wayes the judge. I am, my Lord, your Lordfhips moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

62. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleafe your Grace, *Bruntilland, the 18th June 1690.*

One King who is nephew to Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, and ferved in my regement in Holland, being made prifoner in the north and caryed to Edinburgh, is now fallen very fick of a violent fievre, which I knew not till I was at Lith, otherwyfe I had fpock to your Grace, as I now intreat by thefe to let him out upon baile of reentring prifoner when he fhall be recovered again ; the phifitians declaring he cannot readily efcape if he be left there, or otherwyfe to be kept by fentnells.

I beg your Grace not to be too much allarmed at the behaviour of thofe yong fparcks, but that methods be thought on, and fpeedyly put in execution to prevent their afsemblings, and men of Pollwarts and other honeft fouthern perfons choofing, be joynt to the officers which fhall be detached to the borders, fo well to give tymely advertifment of their gatherings, that they may be fallen upon before they have tyme to ftrengthen themfelves, as to difcover all ill affected perfons horfes, that they may be feafed according to the act of Parlement ; begging earneftly that without the laft

necessitie I be not interrupted in my designe, which with the assistance of God, I shall labour to accomplish speedily, and without a powerfull invasion will prove an effectuall means to quiet this kingdom and mortifie the hops of the ill affected. I resolve to make feu halts till I be in the rebells countrey, hoping that som of my victuallers will be about by that tyme. I am, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

63. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

*Strathardil, the 23d June, at 12 of the clock at night.*

May it please your Grace,

I must regrave that it is my lot to serve among a people that seems to conspire the ruin of the service in my hands. It is certain that without ingeneurs and wrights I see not how I can accomplish well or to purpos my proposed desigh, but so it is that I must march without either if I should not resolve to make new provisions and so give it over for this year. It seems the Devell who is certainly an ennemy to all good purposes, (of which whatsoever doth contribute to the advancement of this intrest, upon which I thank God however the issue may prove, my thoughts do only run in Scotland, doth make a parte,) sturreth up all sorts of people to oppose my indeavours, for I thought I was sure of nothing more then the ingeneur and wrights and yet they faile me, but whatever may be their excuse (if any justice might have place) their lyves wold be too small a price of the disappointment; for if it was for som little money, it might have been had by the armie, though things lesse . . . . ing none more were postponed . . . . confidence which made me . . . . to in this kingdom against such a spet of difficulties occasioned no doubt by my enemies, that is the providence of God, which findeth counsell when we know of none. I march to morow to Braymar, and the day following to Strathispey, where I expect to joyn Livingstone. I chose such

a marche to hazard nothing, because the other way I should march within a litle dayes march to the enemy, which might with all securitie attempt som thing in difficult passages, being much persuaded they will neither have the tyme nor the resolution to cum out of their countrey so far as to fall in betwixt us by this march which I have followed; the nixt remedie for the wrights will be to make all haste day and night by land through the shire of Argyll, for which I send them an order. I had great difficultie to passe the river Tay four miles above Dunkell, it being on a sudden so risen, that severalls of our hors and men were dryven down the river, but I thank God none drowned either hors or men. I stay'd Son-day for the party which I left for the minifters and the wrights, and sent the officer order to cum to Strath Ardil, seeing I was disappointed of the first rendezvous; but now I must give them the third at Strathspey by the way of Aberdeen, with the minifters allone, if they cum to Pearth before to morow morning, the party having order to parte assoon as it cums to their hand; but it seems wee are neglected in soul and body by this government. It is a sad thing that for 2 or 300 pounds, the King's service should be so much neglected, but . . . further of this mater, and shall, . . . assistance go on, hoping against hop, and begging your Grace may not offer to disturb me without great necessitie, since the effectuating of this designe will make other enemies the lesse formidable for us. I pray your Grace to cause dispatch the ships with the materialls, which is at present all from, May it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

64. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

*From the Camp at Collnakeille, the 28th June 1690.*

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

Having of a long tyme judged that the only way to reduce the present standing rebellion, was to establish a garison at Inderlochy, all the go-

vernment knowes with what earnestnesse and obstacles I laboured to get things disposed thereto; and never the lesse now wee have no more then two monthis of faire weather to expect, so that if upon any occasion I were obliged to delay my march, I might at the same tyme give over the designe for this yeare. I find myself so straitned with the want of provisions, that I must venture forward before I have the assurance of any of our victuallers being about, which is some what contrarie to the maxime of war; but I trust in the providence of God, and I find that the wind was all wayes good both from the east and west coasts; and I hop that the provost of Glascow, according to his wonted forwardnesse in this cause, hath a while ago dispatched his ship with the 1000 bolls. I had had meal along with me for a fortnight at Inderlochy, had not the counsell excused such shires as sent out pioneers from furnishing of baggage horses, notwithstanding that the whole number of pioneers got makes but 200. But leaving of complaints, I cum to informe your Grace and Lordships, that notwithstanding I found myself more numerous then any thing the enemy could oppose to me betwixt Athol and Baidenoch. I chose rather to take my march by Braymar, Strath Don, and Strathdown (who were all in rebellion) into Strathspey, where I gave rendezvous to Livingstone with all the forces in the north all most, except Strathnavers regiment, with some men from Balnagowen at Invernesse, whither I order'd also some of my Lord Strathnavers best men, two troops of hors in the shire of Muray, and five troops of hors and dragouns under the master of Forbes. The reason that I alter'd my resolutions of forming a body be north Nesse are, that I may have a formidable body of forces together, in case their Majesties service required my sudden moving towards the south, without expecting a further junction, that I may be in a condition to enter into Lochaber by more wayes then one; if I should beyond my expectation meet with difficulties by the passe of Glen roy, which is the best that leads in to that countrey, at least to make a stronger detachment above it, which is practicable with foot, then the enemies forces can be, and that I am much of the opinion that the temporising party in the north will not move til

they see the event of this expedition, seeing so many forces in a body for their Majesties service, and ready to fall upon any that should oppose it.

I have order'd three hunder of Balnagowens men (a person well affected and most ready for this intrest and service, and who ought, as such, to be confider'd of the government) to fortifie Inderneffe garison, whither I dispatch'd two troops of hors. I expect also 300 of my Lord Strathnavers men in the said garison, and I with my Lord himself were there, to command all, whose qualitie, intrest and zeale for this service, may contribute much to the securitie of that countrey in absence of the forces.

I intreat earnestly that your Grace and Lordships doe not recall me before I have sufficient tyme to fix the garison at Inderlochy, but that a way may be found to give me often notice of the state of affairs in the south, whereby I may judge rightly of the measures which are to be taken for the service in generall; resting confident that nothing shall be neglected whercof my judgment shall be found capable, for the advancement of an intrest to which I have selfdenyedly vowed my pains without any by regards.

I with also your Grace and Lordships take into your consideration the losses that necessarily the Laird of Grants countrey shall sustain by this junction of the forces, and to dispatch the said Laird to his countrey, who can easily keep som of his disaffected neighbours in aw, particularly Strathdown, Glenlievet and Strath Don, though I am of opinion that my march with the message I sent them may make them see the issue before they trouble their neighbours much. The Master of Forbes is allways at great charges and pains for the service, and hath of the countrey men placed garisons over all the shire of Aberdeen where it is needful. I recommend him then earnestly to the consideration of the government, and that a letter of thanks and approbation of his measures, with assurance of reembursement and reparation of his expences and losses for the service, be writ to him; for such forward persons ought not to labour under discouragements. I resolve to march tomorrow with 6000 men to Baidenoch, from whence I have but three dayes march to Inderlochy; I hop my victualls will serve

me thither and fom feu dayes over, and that God the principall author of this happy change for all sincere Protestants, will conduct every thing that conduces to the securitie and advancement of this service.

I have added to the 3 Highland companies in pay 300 men of my Lord Reays country, which my nephew, Major of Livingstone hath armed for this expedition, and do expect, with the help of those 600 brisk Highlanders, to be provided of fleshes in Lochaber. I caused pay every thing that was taken for the armie in Strathspey, because of their losses otherwyfe. This is all at present from, may it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

65. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

*Inderlochy, the 7<sup>th</sup> July 1690.*

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

My Lord Commissioners leter of the 28th June, with a postscript of the 30th, put a stop to the thoughts I had to make a detachment capable to subdue the Illes of Mul and Skye during my abode here, being willing to expect the event of the maritime ingadgment which was then expected, to oppose the attemptes of the ill affected, if, as God forbid it should fall out cros for us, in as formidable a posture as I can ; and that the rather because I am certain that without more succours for them as we can well apprehend, they must within three or four months beg the peace. Surely their oblinacy deserves a severe treatment, for hitherto, though this be the fyfth day I am in this country, none of them hath made any cordiall application as yet, but though I am not ignorant how such fantasques, whose country is now in my reverence should be used, I will rather refer it to the government ; because all that I can doe to a disperfd lurking enemy, the governour of Inderlochy can doe it much more effectually within three months, that is to burn their houfes and destroy their corns.

This government may be of great use if it be speedily supply'd with necessaries, otherwyse it will turn to nothing; whatever be don to the rest of the forces, it must at least and ought be pay'd for months by advance, and the governor supply'd with some fund of money, whereby he may be allwyse stored, certainly both officers and souldiers which are left here ought to be encouraged, by providing liberally for them, for the countrey is not very tempting. I woud willingly take my way out of this countrey by the head of Lochness, to garison Glengarys hous, if your Grace and Lordships order for my speedy repairing southward doth not determine otherwyse, which wold be more to force him to obedience and submission then for communication, which I judge more effectually and ready from the western partes of the kingdom, so long as those rebels are not brought under intire subjection, as I have no commission from the King or your Grace and Lordships to treat with those obstinate rebels; and knowing that my Lord Argyll, who is wholly engaged in their Majesties service and interest is more concerned in such treatise then I am well informed, I willingly wave it, referring the matter to such as know better his Majesties intentions and his Lordships concern to do the rest; resting satisfied to put things in that posture, with Gods assistance, that this enemy shall not trouble us much whatever may fall out more in any other parte of the kingdom.

Buchan, with Dumfermeling and such other low countrey gentlemen as were with them, are gone by the way of Baidenoch, whither further I cannot tell, but not one man of this countrey with them. I suspect they will labour to forme a party in Aberdeenshire, but I question if they find a readynesse to joyn them so long as I am above them; however I am resolved to leave this garison in a posture of defence, to which the speedy arrayall of the plancks, canon and other materials, wold contribute much. Your Grace and Lordships wold seriously mynd the speedy supplying of this important poste, from the west, of such necessaries as I sent you a list of, given up by Colonel Hill, otherwyse all the pains and expences men have been at may prove fruitlesse, which necessarily wold be of ill conse-

quence. I shall forbear to use this obstinate ennemy according to my judgment and the ordinary practice of war, because as I touched above, the government if disposed thereto can allwayes get it done by the garison, while I labour only to make them the arbiters of their ennemys lot, which as it allwayes hath been, so shall it hereafter be in Scotland, the only designe of, may it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

The wrights whose stay hath put me some dayes behind are at last arrived.

66. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Inderlochy, the 10th July, 1690.*

My two last letters were to your Grace and counsell, to the end they may lay to heart the speedy supplying of this garison, and now I send one of the Commissarys who shall have perticullar directions from Colonell Hill of things to be furnished. I pray your Grace therefore, that it may be resolved, without any interrupting businesse, and the garison sufficiently provided of money and provisions with all diligence, otherwyse ther will be great grounds to accuse the government of an inexcusable negligence in matters of greatest importance for the peace and quiet of the kingdome. I have writ to Arckinlas to intimat to my Lord Argylls chamberlains in Kintire, to send butter, cheese and what other provisions they can furnish to the garison, upon the bearers precept, which I oblige myself shall be paid by the generall receivers upon sight; but though such things may happen to take effect, they must not be trusted to; if the garison be supply'd with money it will not want provisions; it must not be pay'd by precepts as your other forces but with ready cash, otherwyse it shall go to wrack.

One would admire how far our works are advanced in three or four dayes, so that any tyme next week in case the service required it, I shall

be ready to march and leave this fort not only pallifaded round, but most of the worcks at their full highth, and that notwithstanding our men have nothing but meale and water, with now and then a little acquavitie to the workmen. Of all the Pioneers I got but about 150, which I sent home out of Strathspey. Many of our baggage men desert us with their horses, most whereof fall into the hands of the ennemy. If the meale from Glafcow and other partes cum not, the garifon will be very speedily reduced to great necessitie, because of the 2000 bolls arryved, the armie consumes much, having nothing else to eat, for the partys I had out, met with no catle within 20 miles.

The regement of Angus makes great difficultie to remain here in garifon, which proceeds more of their officers and minister then of the souldiers. It were very unraifonable to leave any of the strenger forces in such a remote garifon, since if the kingdom happen to turn peaceable, they may and doubtlesse shall be speedily disposed of elsewhere. Your Grace then wold wryt to Lieutenant Colonel Foulerton to signifie that the confidence the government hath in those men is the raifon they were designed for that garifon at first till Lochaber should be subdued, which is hoped shall not be long, and then if they be not pleased with their post, that they shall be releevd by others which may be easily don by the shire of Argyll; withall if it might be thought fit to send them to Ireland they may be transported as readily and more compleat from Inderlochy as from the west; however tis very in commod to have men in the service who most needs choose their post. I confesse I am no admirer of a devotion which doth not teach men their relative duty according to their vocation. I leave here also betwixt 4 and 500 men of Grants regement with som Highlanders. I can not resolve to give the second command to the Laird of Weemb so long as Foulerton shall be here, though I know he might be very serviceable to the garifon both as to his intelligence and credit, and that ther is not the least absurditie in the thing, it being very practicable in all countreys; but many men pretends to know that understands very little. I hop things are peaceable in the south since I get so feu expreffes

though they may be easily conveyed through Argylls shire over Dunstaffnage. I am much of the opinion they will have some respect for this body in the midst of their friends country, which certainly this garison if carefully provided will separate from their party, at least so as not to trouble so much the rest of the kingdom hereafter. I shall be obliged to return shortly though it were but to leave some provisions for the garison; for neither the shire of Glasgow or Southerland is such as yet, nor yet a bark which I ordered out of Cathness with 400 bolls, nor have we any notice of the two ships with the planks, cannon and ammunition. Colonel Hill assures me that there must be double the number of planks which was provided, therefore more would be immediately secured at Glasgow though they should cost more, and in case they be not found there sent from Lieth as formerly: this would be done speedily because the winter draws nearer apace. I wish the cannon and ammunition were such as left some enemy ships might come to in commodore the garison before it be well covered towards the sea, which will take time. I find the pallisades which I sent of great security for the fort, for here it would not be possible to get any, there being no proper wood within distance, and the country not likely to submit till the winter force them. Here is a talk among our enemies that some thing will be undertaken by the Earle of Arran Marques of Athol and others before I return. I do not believe it, nevertheless if any such thing should occur and that any considerable numbers from that hand should make head towards me, a motion would be made from that hand towards Perth to threaten both Athol and Braid Albain country, and your Grace would labour to give me speedy account of the state of affairs and as often as possible. If I can learn of no opposition in my return, I have thoughts of leaving the Earle of Argylls regiment in the shire of that name, with which and what he can join to it of the shire, together with the help of the frigates whose provisions draw to an end, he can easily subdue Mull this campaign yet; but if I hear of any alarms further, I will march with all the forces except the garison, that being of greatest consequence. I make no question but there is account sent the

King of our progres hitherto against this ennemy, otherwyfe I had labour'd to have don it from here. I recommend earnestly to your Grace the care of this post, which I look upon as the most important of the kingdom at present, and that which will at length make such as wold sell their credit and service at such a deare rait to the King of no greater use nor more necessary to him then a Lauthian or Fif Laird; therefor by no means let it be neglected, though other things should be postponed, but let the person which Hill employes be speedily dispatched back again with the necessary supplies. The rest of the planks may be hade before the first if they happen to cum safely be wrought. The Queen wold be advertised also how maters go. I hope in God, before this tyme that ther shall be good newes both out of Ireland and of the fleet whereof I shall long to be pertaker. I am, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

If I find Angus regement of such an ill humeur that I cannot judge them to be a sure garison, I shall be obliged to leave a detachment of them and the regiment of Argyll with the companies of Grant which are here, lest their desertion of the garison might expose it. If my Lord Argyll had been here, tis very lyk he had received the submission of the men of Mull, except the Laird, before this tyme; but after my return it may bide him a greater tug. I recommend again the buying of the Glasgow frigate for the service of this garison; the Captain of it is much praised by Ferguson for a well affected and diligent man who is also content to continue his command in the governments service.

67. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

*Mouillons, betwixt Blaire and Dunkell, the 24th*

May it please your Grace, *July 1699, at 11 a cloack forenoon.*

Yesterday morning I gave your Grace and the Councell account of the approach of the armie from the head of Lochgary, but the leter was inter-

cepted by one Kinloch, who followed Buchan at Dunkell, as I am informed by people of that town. I left Colonel Hill with his garifon well secured and so provided, that speedy meafures being taken for his further fupply, as the nature of that poft feems abfolutely to require; he fhall not readily have occafion to apprehend any thing which can menace him from the enemy. I got 6 half coulverains from Captain Pottinger, and fix fmall pieces from the fhips of burden for him, and left him well enough provided of ammunition till he get more by the fhips from Lieth; his flock of meale I fuppofe about 1800 bolls. I left him alfo 60 fat cowes, 8 barrells of hering, with a good quantitie of the aquavitie, and 500<sup>lb</sup> Sterling in money, which, confidering the worck which he fhall have to make with the number of men, cannot lafte very long; befides, that poft muft be provided for a 12 month during the faire weather. This I recommend to the Governments ferious confideration, that being a poft of that importance, and fo difficult to repoffeffe, if loft by neglect, that no tyme fhould be loft to have it fupply'd with all neceffars, both for lodging and fubfifing, perticularly of money to pay the garifon, and buy bargains of provifions, which wold fave fhips fraughts after a while; but meale muft abfolutely be fent, that being wares not to be had for money there; but other provifions, I fuppofe, he may be ferved of, provided money faile not; that garifon ought to be kept in good humour, and capable to ferve well; they want, and ought prefently to be fupply'd of furtouts, breeches, ftockings and fhues.

Your Grace's leter of the 10th I got but after I was away from Inderlochy, and advanced as far as Badenoch; the tenour wherof, if I had not been accuftumed much with that fort of language, and known fomthing more, then haply your Grace can judge of the ftate of the ennemy, wold allarme me. God doth, in his goodneffe, worck for us, otherwyfe fuch a timourous fpirit as doth aët this Government wold be capable to expofe us to the fcorn of our ennemis, and hinder all progres of the forces. Now, fince your Grace doth reproach me to have, contraire to your judgement, hazarded the loffe of the reft of the kingdom for the conquifh of Inderlochy (which I as well as your Grace wold judge a foolifh exchange) being

com this length with the armie, I defyre your Grace may propofe in Counfell whether ther be any preffing prefent fervice for me in thefe fouthern partes, or that otherwyfe they may be put for 10 or 12 dayes in quarters of refrefhment; becaufe the foot hath fuffered much by the continuall rains and worck, and where your Grace and the Counfell judges they fhould beft refrefh, and at the fame tyme keep the ill affected moft in aw. Thefe directions wold be fent me with all fpeed, being refolved to camp fom dayes at Perth till your orders with the Counfells cum to my hand. The Commiffarys wold be fent to fee the forces want not provifions, having brought nothing from the fort but what the fouldiers could conveniently cary, and have been 8 dayes by the way, wherof I refled one in Baidenoch to put a garifon at Ruven, with directions to Captain Mackay, with his Highland companie of my Lord Reays men a 100 ftrong to fecure himfelf with all, which is all at prefent from, may it pleafe your Grace, your Graces moft humble and moft obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

I fhall camp this night at Dunkell. I have no advice of the fouth fince the 12th, by which the Counfell defyred my repair thither.

68. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleafe your Grace,

*Perth, the 26th July 1690.*

I have received your Grace and Lordfhips of the 25th, giving account of your calling of fom weft countreyemen to Sterling and Falkirk, which I judge needlefle, now the armie is cum back again from the Highland expedition; withall they occupy the quarters which I defigned for the forces; for now, I fuppofe, our greateft care muft be towards England, if any troubles fhould occur there during the Kings abfence; and Sterling, with the ajacent towns and villages within ten or twelue miles, wold be a fit poft to look to both fouth and north; I judge moft of the hors and dra-

gouns which were not in the Highlands ought to be sent north. To keep those low countreys in aw, I had left some of the horse which I had with me, but, because I knew not how I should find matters here being so hastily wrought for, and that they wanted recruits, I took them all south, except Balhavens and Stewarts troops, which lye at Elgin in Murray; and there is no foot now in the north beside the garrison of Fort William in Lochaber, and Ruven in Baidenoch, but Strathnavers regiment at Inderneffe, whereof two companies are lodged at the houses of Vrachart and Erchlas. I judge foot in that country, during the good weather, not so useful as some horse and dragoons, therefore I resolve to send Jackson north with the three troops which he hath at Sterling, and the troop of horse which is said to be Elphinstons, and then I believe we shall be pretty well secured to that side; while we shall have . . . 7 troops of horse, with Livingstons regiment of dragoons, a troop of Cardros and the Horse-Guards, with the three Dutch regiments, Sir James Leslie and the Earle of Levens all very good forces, to be ready to march where the service shall most require it; and, in case of a considerable landing any where southerly, whether in England or Scotland, the said body could march towards it, while the western shires men might be disposed for the security of Forth and the Government, besides those Cunninghams regiment will be in pretty good condition of service. I have here also 9 companies of the Earle of Argylls regiment, with as many of Angus. These forces upon the Scots repartition will certainly turn to nothing without speedy supply of money; and I admire to understand no measures have been taken all this while to furnish them.

The money for the garrison of Fort William must be sent the Governor, and not comprehended in the precepts of the regiments to whom they belong; and speedy care would be taken for to get that post supply'd of all necessaries during the fine weather, and the Laird of Grant spoken to to agree with the Commissaries for deals and other wood to be order'd by him speedily to Ruven; together with a number of wrights for the accommodation of that house for a garrison of a 100 foot and 20 dragoons, which will be of great service to keep the country below in peace, whereof

Grants is one to be benefitted thereby ; meanwhile, by the order I left, the garifon is fecured againft ennemy attempts. This is all at prefent from, may it pleafe your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships moft humble and moft obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

69. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it pleafe your Grace and Lordships,

*Pearthe, the 28<sup>th</sup> July 1690.*

Having examined the ftate of the forces, I find that the fickneffe which began to infeft them at Inderlochy or Fort William doth increafe, viz. the bloody flux, fo that if we expect more fervice of them for this running faifon, ther is a neceffitie to lay them for a little tyme in quarters, of re-fraifhment, which I have accordingly order'd fo neare, that in a day moft of them can be together. They are difpofed as followes : my regement at Sterling, Ramfay at Lithgow, Leslie at Falkirk, Angus and Kenmore at Borowftoneffe and ajacents, Livingfton at Killfeith ; the fix troops of hors in the villages about Sterling, Argyll and Lauder at Pearth, and Glenkairn fomwhere therabout, as the Commanding Officer of that parte of the forces which marches now to Sterling fhall informe himfelf, that it may be accommodat, becaufe now that I have got fom bifket from Dundee I take Livingftons Dragons, four troops of hors and fix hundert commanded foot to look after thofe people that are infefting the country. I have fent orders to Jackfon to march northward with his three troops of dragons which lye about Sterling, becaufe that the Rebels having got fom hors together, they may, with the help of the brocken Highlanders, be uneafie for the party wee have there, and whatever may fall out in the fouth, the north ought to be fo well cared for that the ennemis may have no footing in the low country. It were fit that fuch of our party as are north country men, and have intrefte to raife men, were fent thither, among whom chiefly

my Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant ; for it is not the question of Protestants divided in court party and club, but of Protestants and Papists, now when our ennemis maine or only expectations are from France, so that whosoever is not zealous in such a cause, with all the self denyednesse which our religion requires, can hardly expect the advantages which it promises, only to such as seek first the kingdom of heaven, and for the rest deppend upon Gods providence to have it added to them.

I have often prest that Fort William be cared for tymely, and that the forces be furnished with money to put them in case to do the service, for surely the Kings money ought not to be spaired to loose his service, for in cash upon occasion it cannot help much but in well composed forces ther is a prospect at least humanly of securitie whatever may fall out.

I could wish ther were present order given for 11 or 1200 furtouts for the garison of Fort William, the men being ill cloathed for the approaching cold wet faison ; plaidin west coats wold doe well also ; for shues and stockins ther hath been a memorandum given to a certain Commissary Depput called Cambell, who is ordained to attend the said fort ; shirts wold not be forgot also, the said monting can be found of their retention money, and cost nothing but the credit making to the government.

Your Grace and Lordships would consider that it is an unsupportable burden for me to have the care of all those things, for tis impossible for me to exercise my thoughts effectually how to dispose the forces to the most advantage of the service, if I be obliged to give directions for and solicit all things, thay may be found requisit for the perticullar detail and oeconomic of them ; therefor to make the service go well on, it ought to be made as easie for any who happen to have the chief command of the forces as possible, otherwyse he shall necessarily neglect the chief parte and end thereof, which is to contrive how to make use of them to the most advancement of the service. Your Grace and Lordships therefor wold establish the Committie of war which I proposed, to inspect the leters and propositions which I have wryten and hereafter may happen to make or wryt, that no delay be made in things essentiell for the present service and

juncture, for though I have the designe and will, I thank God for it, good and sound in this matter, my spirit and body cannot support the weight of all, and necessarily many things must be neglected if I should be charged therewith, which are the present thoughts of, may it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

70. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Sterling, the 30<sup>th</sup> July 1690.*

Presently I had your Graces of the 28<sup>th</sup> instant; I am much of opinion more might be done for the subsistence of the forces and supplying other incidents of the service, but where the neglect lies I cannot tell; certainly it will discover itself at last; I make no manner of doubt but the garrison in Lochaber will be presently waikned except speedily supply'd, not only of provisions, but of money to encourage the men; for as they must do the rest of the work they expect to be pay'd. Whatever others may think, I am of opinion that it is the most importantest post of the nation as we are now statèd; there was not a taile of all those Highlanders with Canon and Buchan of I am sure 4000 that at least wold appeare in the field at this tyme, if those measures had not been taken, which neverthelesse stood betwixt *cinqu* and *fyce* whether it should or not. Canon, to my certain knowledge, had not 50 hors, very badly mounted and armed, and no foot but such as were of the theeves of Ranuch, Buchoider and Brays of Monteith, before Buchan joynt him, of whom not one hath followed him north, nor have they joynt him but to rob and steale under his name, so that it was a disgrace to the forces to let him do such disorders so neare four troops besyde foot, wherof som might be chosen for a detachment. I march'd after them till neare the Weemb, but I found that they were advanced to the north. I wold not therfor venture to go so far out of the way, not knowing what newes might be out of England. My Lord

Cardros is gone out, when the ennemy was ods of 30 mile from him, and is now out of the way when my orders for Jackfon came here to march north in all diligence. I wifh with all my heart fom of the Lords were accommoded otherwyfe, and left thofe charges which requires fervile attendance to fuch as wold wait upon them. I intend tomorrow for Edinburgh, when I fhall have directed the reft of the forces to quarters; tis pleafant that the Lords of Counfell wold have an armie kept together without money, forage or provifions. It makes me think upon a drol faying of Colonel Hills, that becaufe peoples rents in this countrey were moftly pay'd in meale, they judged meal wold answer every thing. I wonder what Sir George Monro does, for if he cannot help the government to fom direCTIONS as to the taking fom meafures for the forces, he is not lyck to be very ufefull, except it be to contredict me, which I beleeve can hardly paffe for fervice worth a penfion, fince I beleeve the government is perfuaded I defigne well to it. I wrot to your Grace and the Counfell from Pearth 3 dayes ago, which I wifh may be confider'd, which is all at prefent from, may it pleafe your Grace, your Graces moft humble and moft obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

I take the libertie to recommend to your Grace Pottingers letter to the Commiffioners of the Navy. You will fee by his letter to me that he and Douglas are on their way to Greenock to be revictwalled. I fhall wryt to him to cum fpeak with your Grace.

71. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

*Brechen the 17th Augft, 90.*

May it pleafe your Grace and Lordfhips,

At my arryvall this length I am informed that the rebels are paff the hills of the Karne mounth, and that they were ftrong in hors, for all the

gentry and men of qualitie in the north do joyn them, such as the Lords Fraiser and Innerurie, Sir Peter Frifer the Laird Meldrum and the shirif deput of the Mearnes with severall others. I am extreamely at a non plus for want of provisions it being impossible to follow the enemy, and as impossible without following them close to know their motions, the countreys being generally so ill affected. Those difficulties which is only occasioned by the want of order for providing the forces, do render me incapable to take any sure mesures, for though the rebels seem by the way I am informed that they are gone over the Kairne month to bend towards the north, it might happen to be to the brayes of Mar and so to Athol and trouble the government considerably. I find if they know to take mesures with the adherence they have in the north countreys, and expect in the south, together with the body of hors they have together, and the disorders of our payment and provisions and the bade case of the Scots forces, that they may creat som trouble to the government. My oppinion then is, that the west countrey men might be advertis'd to be in readynesse that is som competent numbers of them to march to Sterling in case those men should take their way to the south, as also to Edinburgh to secure the government that the forces may be all gather'd to a body betwixt Sterling and Pearth. If I find that they have taken the way to the south, I shall make a detachment of three troops of Livingstons dragouns thither, while I must of necessitie fall down towards Aberdeen to be provided of provisions as well as to joyn Jackson and the Master of Forbes, though it seem light to som men to move with forces to and fro and observe the ennemys I cannot see through it; for all along the countrey there is nothing to be had, not so much as a boll of meale. If now the Highlanders of Lochaber were joynt they might give us worck enough, for my parte I do not understand all this worck. At Edinburgh every malicious tongue censures all that is don by such as sacrifices all their intrest, contentment and rest, for their peace and wellfaire while they themselves do not touch the wight of maters so much as with their finger; at least let men be so juste as to lay the blame where it ought to lye,

which certainly if ther be any is in the government, which ought to finde soun possible way to have the service don. I sent soun men for intelligence after them, and I am to march this night to Fetterkairne, and if they be gone north shall march down the Mearns towards Aberdeen, to be provided of victualls, and if they go up Mar I know those countrey men will not go with them to the south, I mean their foot, and in that case I shall either make detachments to the north and return with soun of the forces south or send soun of them south and stay to settle the north a little ; for as yet I know no certain resolution to be followed before I get further intelligence, of which I shall give your Grace and Lordships account ; only I wish you had a man more acceptable to you, to whom you wold give your assistance more cordially, but men ought to have care that the masters service be not hazarded out of prejudice to the servant. I do earnestly recommend the care of the garison of Fort William, which if not tymly provided may be of bade consequence. This all at present from, May it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I order'd the Commissarys to send a deput or two allong with me but it seems they forgot it, as I am affray'd many other things will be. An order should be sent to Captain Pottinger to make the best of his way to the coast of Lochaber and the Isles, and my opinion is, since the garison at Fortwilliam may happily be waikned for want of necessaries, orders might be given that the governour might at any tyme call for 300 well appointed men out of Argylls shire to help to make inroads upon the Lochaber men in case any of them should offer to joyn any more with the other rebels ; but all depends upon a fasionable disposition of maters, the necessarys for that garison and other things requiring dispatch, ought to be constantly plyed till it were dispatch'd and not depend upon the solicitation of officers.

## 72. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Inverness, the 29th August 1690.*

This day I received your Lordships of the 23d instant. I was continually moving since I wrot from Brechein to my Lord Commiſſioner and the Counsell, and had litle or nothing to advyſe, except a litle rencontre betwixt Inverey and a party of hors and dragouns under my nephew Major Mackay, which I commanded out to attack him in a very rough and steep ground, which imbolden'd him to approach my march very neare, where allmoſt all his men were killed and taken priſoners, and he himſelf ſtrangely eſcaped, after he was under the hors feet, and thought dead by the purſuers, whereof I wrot the perticullars to the Secretary at War, which, no doubt, he communicated. I was oblidged, before the junction of the forces which lay at Aberdeen, to ſtep a ſyde for the relief of the garifon of Abergeldie, which was blockt up, and wold have been loſt within three dayes, had it not been tymely ſuccour'd; and to terrifie others from the lyke attempts, I burnt 12 miles of a very fertile Highland countrey, at leaſt 12 or 1400 houſes, but had no tyme to go up the length of Braymar, being willing to follow the ennemy to the north, or elſwhere he ſhould direct his march, it being impoſſible for me, in thoſe rebellious countreys, to get any ſure intelligence of him; ſo that to be ſure of him again, I judged expedient to leave the foot behinde me, and follow with the hors and dragouns with all the diligence they could be capable of; and if they had not had the countrey, even in Muray, more to their friend then I, I had gone prety neare to a ſurpryſed them beſyde Inverneſſe, where they did not expect me ſo ſoon, and waited for the Earle of Seafort, with all his men, who were, and for ought I know, are yet at a head, as well low as high countrey men; but upon the advertiſement of my approach, the rebels retired up by the north ſyde of Lochneſſe to the Highlands, and the Earle ſent me two gentlemen of his name, ſignifieing that he was oblidged in

honour to make some appearance for King James, but had no designe to a troubled the Government, nor to a joyn'd with Buchan, offering sureté for his peaceable behaviour in tymes cumming; to which I returned answer, that without loosing any longer tyme in debating about his designe, I was to walck by what occur'd to my judgement, and left his Lordship his choice of one of two, either to see his countrey enter'd by fire and sword, or delyver up his person prisoner into my hands, to be kept in civill custody till the Government should dispose otherwyfe, or sent south, according to his choice. I am expecting that his mother, who was with me yesterday, and his low countrey kinsmen, who render'd themselves now by this last step guilty, will labour to dispose his Lordship to the later, which I am willing they do also, rather then be obliged to proceed to rigour, which neverthelesse I am resolved to do, judging it the service, if he do not agree to the former.

Upon Buchans retreat toward the head of Lochness, judging he might have some hopes of succour from the Clans, I called up a parte of the foot, viz. our three Dutch battaillons (with Kenmores debris, which I intend to lodge at Inderness) to be in condition to pouffe them in all sort of grounds, and if they from the head of Lochness passe by the braes of Badenoch toward the south, I shall labour to be as speedily after them as I can with the inconveniences I meet with, by the forces wanting of money and victualls; for though they had their precepts they had no tyme to get money for them. I have dispatch'd an expres to Colonel Hill to labour for good intelligence of what passes in Lochaber in favour of the rebels, that he may lay hold upon the occasion to chastise them if they should go out in such numbers that his partys can securely interpryse upon the rest. I have wayes lay'd down vpon all hands to be speedily advertis'd of their motions, and be able to follow them in case they march your way; mean while tis my opinion the six troops of hors with the gardes be lodged in a body, and my battaillon out of Sterling, with Sir James Leslies regiment and Lauders from St Johnston, be drawn also together to Dumblain and Down, and that of Angus sent to Sterling, being certain that the forsaide

hors, with the three battaillons, are forces enough for Buchan's, with any thing that can joyn him out of Lochaber, considering the necessary effect of the garison of Fort William, or that Ramfay may assist my Lord Drumlanrig, (who, by reason of the junction of the troop of gardes, should fall to command the said body,) his bataillon could be joyn'd from Dundee in place of Lauders. This I propose to be don in tyme, because the rebels wold otherwyse have tyme to trouble the countrey before those forces could be drawn together; for, if they be hunted from hand to hand, the tenderly bred countrey lords and lairds will soon weary of it, and disperse if otherwyse no catch can be had of them. In this magasin of Inderness, there is not 80 bolls of meale at present, therefore the Commissarys ought to be order'd immediately to put meale in store at Inderness, Aberdeen and Montros, there being already some store of meale and biscuit at Dundie, which lyes also convenient for Perth, if need were, to carry it thither. This letter your Lordship shall be pleased to communicate to my Lord Commissioner and the Lords of Council, to have their approbation, whether they think fit to have those directions followed or not. After to-morrow I shall be at a point with the Mackenzies, and if there be rigour in the case let them blame themselves; for I am persuaded the designe was lay'd to joyn Buchan, and for their first interpryse to labour to carry Inderness, if my speedy motion had not prevented them. I have advertis'd my Lord Reayes countrey and Balnagowen to be in readynesse to fall in the adjacent parts of the Earle of Seaforth's countreys to them in case they should joyn the other rebels, so, whatever should come of the rest, they wold quickly passe their tyme ill if they should oppiniatre. This is all I have to say at present, being, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

## 73. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

*Inderneffe, the 1 Septembre 1690.*

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

At the wryting of my laft account to the Earle of Leven, which was to be communicated to your Grace and Lordships, the Comteffe Dowager of Seaforth was here, together with the Laird of Coule, and a letter from the Earle (to whom his kinfmen gives the title of Marqueffe now) affuring me that he fhould agree to fuch conditions as fhould be concluded betwixt them and me, which was that the Earle fhould give over his perfon in my hands to be kept in civill detention at Inderneffe till your Grace and Lordships fhould further determin of him; and that he might appeare the more excufable to thofe of the other party, my nephew, Major of Livingfton, was to make a fafhion of furpryng him at Chanrie one of his houfes; but inftead of keeping his agreement, his Lordship and his mother wrote letters fhewing that the condition of his health could not beare with imprifonment, as if a lodging at Inderneffe, with the liberty of the free air in companie of the Commanding Officer, or fuch as he fhould appoint were more contrarie to his health then the hills allready in this countrey covered with fnow. Upon this infincere dealing I difpatched orders to Southerland, Strathnaver and Balnagowen, to gather of their Highlanders the mater of a 1000 men, to whom I joyn'd Major Wilhart with two hunder of Strathnavers regement to command them with a commiffion, whereof I fend herewith your Grace and Lordships a copie, and I am affured they will make their campaigne coft thofe men deare enough, for ther is no other way to deale with them or bring them to raifon, as may be feen by the late exmple of Strathdee, which, for 12 miles of the beft Highland countrey in Scotland, hath been totally burnt to afhes; and now thofe who wold never here of delyvering up their armes heretofore brings them all in upon oath with certification, that with

whom any armes shall be found thereafter shall dye without mercy ; for I had left order to permit none to rebuild but by delyvering up their armes and swearing allegiance to their Majesties. I beleeve it shall fare so with the Earle of Seaforth, that is, that he shall haply submit when his countrey is ruined and spoyled, which is the character of a true scotfman, wyfe behinde the hand. However, I have hunted people ready for the prey at his Highlands, and shall take a word of his low countreys with my hors and dragouns, now the foot is cum up to secure this place behind me ; for I can see no securitie for the government to leave such a countrey and people lying ready to catch at all occasions to trouble it (as it hath now sufficiently appeared) in a condition to do us harme, therefor your Grace and Lordships may be freely perswaded that I take my measures by what I judge to tend to the establishment of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and not by humour or prejudice, having resolved at this tyme to treat rudely all that I should finde in armes and none els : Witnesse Strathdon, Strathdown and Glenlivet, which I past without doing them the least harme, because they had not joyn't Buchan, and were all in their countrey as I past ; tis true that the Earle of Seaforth offered me his kinsmen securitie for his peaceable deportment, but 'tis as true they had all secur'd the peace before, and yet joyn'd with the said Earle at this tyme ; I leave then to your Grace and Lordships to judge of what value such a securitie of kinsmen for a Highland chief can be to the government.

If, in the meantyme, Buchan with his party passe over the hills to the fouth, I shall leave a sufficient force here to execute my orders against this new start up ennemy, while I shall follow that other as speedily as I can, and if the combined Highlanders should venture ons more (as I do not much apprehend) to cum out, except it be by connivance of small detachments, I have force enough to oppose them all with Gods assistance, only I am extremly put to it for want of money and provisions, there being no meale here in magasin. I do not know whether it be a worck of creation to get necessarys furnish'd for the promotion of the service in this kingdom, but sure I am it is a worck of no small vexation to serve without it ; I

shall never repyne at my pains, or any thing els I can contribut to your peace and quiet, without the least designe which any iuste and impartiall man can call my own, in all your maters, nay, I shall willingly beare with the malicious misconstructions of my ennemys so be I may see but a way to bring things (by the providence of him who hath called me to this unpleasent piece of service) to that passe, that the peaceable state of the kingdom may make me hop to make way for some other whose circumstances might render it more gratefull to him then it can be to me; but I confesse that it is a great temptation to be exposed to so many difficulties, toyles and vexations, by the continual complaints of the forces and their ill humour (which ought to be as carefully avoided, perticularly in such a war as this, as men wold desyre to receive good service of them and give no advantage to the enemy) and instead of acknowledging mens sincere indeavours over the belly of thwarting practises of others, to load them with injuries, as it hath been my own case after my late expedition of Lochaber. But whatever prejudices men in the government may have for the person, if they be publick spirited men, for the consequence sake they will acknowledge the services. Your Grace and Lordships will have the goodnesse to pardon this digression, because I am sufficiently convinced that men take the liberty to speak of my conduct no lesse ignorantly then maliciously.

My last newes of Buchan was, that he marched towards Lochaber; if the Highlanders give him succour it shall not be so soon but his hors may cum to suffer notably before they gather; I have lodged myn since the change of the weather within the town; if they cum back to joyn the mater of 800 men that Seaforth hath together, I have foot enough now neare to march to them in any ground where I can meet them: this post is propre for observation, seeing the Mackenzies are in the play, because here I can observe their motions either to the north or south, but if ons our Highland hunters be abroad they will make a break among Seaforths party if I be not mistaken, otherwyse they are not of the nature of other Highlanders.

I have borrowed a 100<sup>lb</sup> sterling for som of the Scots troops of hors and dragouns, which wanted from the town of Inderness, for which the receivers wold be order'd to send a precept upon their Colector there for repayment, that my bond may be releevd, as also to send an order to all Collectors in the North for the payment and acceptance of such precepts as their Deput Commissarys or an officer commanding in chief shall draw upon them for provisions for the forces, when in a body at least.

It is my oppinion, if your Grace and Lordships wold give the Earle of Argyll the 18 companies of his own and the Earle of Angus's regement, that he wold not only quickly render himself master of Mul, but also help to make a considerable diversion of the ennemys numbers during the said march and expedition, because his march to Argyllshire and raising of that country wold keep all the men of Lochaber at home, though otherwyse they should be of oppinion som of them might venture out notwithstanding of the garison: Meantyme the Earle might be helped to his own, and the forces be as usefully imploy'd there as any other where, for ought I know at present, it being certain that if any considerable ennemy march that way, I shall not give them tyme to do much harme before I be after them, though notwithstanding any measures I can take for intelligence, being so far distant from me, they can have the start of a day or two's march before me; but if it should not be found good to give him Angus's with his own regement, (or rather parte of it), that he may have the 4 companies of Glenkairns which are out of garison, if they be in any condition to do service; or rather, lastly, his own 9 companies with 50 men out of every one of the other five battaillons, and 50 of the best of those four companies forsaide, making 300 men, which with his own, supposing 400 effectives, and the men of the shire, may do the businesse, without waikning fo those bodys but they'll do the service as well as otherwyse. The Earle to my knowledge is at expenss to prepare for this expedition; therefor, 'tis my oppinion, without som raisons which I do not know to the contrarie, he ought not be disappointed, since at the same tyme it is the King's service also to subdue those ennemys.

I have sent all wayes to look out for meale, but I fear it will be difficult to be got this fyde Aberdeen in any quantitie ; therefor the Lords of Theffurie ought to give present orders to have this garison furnished with a 1000 bolls from Aberdeen by sea, as also to have a magazin there and at Montros, as I wrot to the Earle of Leven in my last, the want of which lost me two dayes when I marched last through Angus.

I hop your Grace and Lordships have not neglected to have Fort-William supply'd, the weather becomming cold. If deals be not sent in sufficient quantitie the service may cum to loofe by it. I only put you in mynd of it, being none of my care; what is wryt by me or others intrusted with any directions of the service ought to be presently consider'd, and what is found necessary presently resolved and order'd or it be lay'd asyde in the clerck's hands, it being otherwyse subjeēt through forgetfulnesse to delays, which occasions all the disorders of this service, and could have been prevented by forming the commity which I proposed in the beginning of summer before I went to the feelds. The Fraisers keep themselves very quiet, and I am assured by one Alexander Chiefolm, Shirif-deput of Indernesse, that they will not countenance this ennemy at any rate. My Lord Lovet would be spokken to, to make the said Chiefolm baillie as he hath been formerly, being an active person, and for ought I can learn, well inclined. This is all I can advise at present, being, May it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

74. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

*Indernesse, the 2d Septembre, 1690.*

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

This day I have advis that Buchan and Canon, with their hors are past from the head of Lochnesse to the Braes of Lochaber, whereby I guesse,

since they finde no disposition in the Clans to joyn them, except it be som few loose fellows upon the hop of plunder, that they shall take their way towards the Braes of Badenoch, and so into Braemar or Perthshire. I advertised a while ago that there should be a body there composed of the hors with three battaillons of the foot, lodged so contigously together that they may upon the first advertisement march to them, it being certain our hors allone there are capable to beat them; but as long as it can be don, and lest they get som foot together as they march through those Highlands, it shall be best and safest to joyn the forsaide foot to them. Such a motion might cast them my way, at least if they be som what tossed from hand to hand they will grow thinner, and whosoever hath kept himself from them hitherto will hardly now joyn them. My foot (without which I cannot well march through the hills after them) is so harassed, and wants money and provisions at that rate, that I am affray'd I cannot make use of them for such a march; however I shall do what I can if the march of the ennemy be not too sudden. If I had Seafort and his people secured I should be at more liberty as to the rest. By this tyme I am in expectation that the Kings speedy return will quiet the ill humours in the south, so that these in rebellion shall not have many more to joyn them, and if it were to be don over again, I am persuaded they wold take it to consideration who joyn'd them last, and as persuaded if they be ply'd hard that they'll diminish dayly. I had a letter from Colonel Hill by an expres I sent him, signifying that they begin to want deals for the worck, and longs extreemly for the cloathes and money for the fouldiers, the weather being all ready pretty cold perticularly at nights, otherwyse his garison is hearty and well pleased with his way. I have sent him orders to be brisk in case those people should be so foolish as to ingadge again, but he seems not much to apprehend it; his fortifications are well nigh compleat. I recommend earnestly to your Grace and Lordships the case of that post, which serves us now for no small use, and shall be the greatest securitie of the peace of any post in the kingdom if kept in good condition. He complains of neither sicknesse nor desertion, and praises much Grants Major of whom he hath great help. I am of

opinion it ought be seen what way the ennemy turns before the detachment I propos'd for the subdueing of Mull be sent of, which I suppose may be seen in a few dayes. This is all at present from, May it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

75. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

*Old Meldrum, the 8<sup>th</sup> Septembre 1690.*

Supposing your Lordship at Pearth, if the ennemy be in the neighbourhood, I dispatch'd this by a labal, to know from that place, as the nearest quarter of our troupes, if Ramsay be drawn out, what passes in that shire. Having understood by a letter from the counsell that the rebels were fallen down to the braves of Monteith and Bochoider, I left the north as far as Inderness well secured, as I do Aberdeenshire, and intends southward with Livingston's dragoons; therefor be pleas'd to send an officer expres to meet me upon the way of Brechen and Forfar, to let me know the latest motion of the ennemy, and what forces Drumlanrick hath together, and whereabout they are at present. Your Lordship may send this to the counsell, to the end they may know where I am, which is all at present from, My Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

76. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

*Forfar the 15<sup>th</sup> Septembre 1690.*

Since my late to the Earle of Leven, I have nothing to advyse, but that I order'd Sir James Leslie to Sterling, to releve Argyll and 2 companies of Angus's, the 2 of Glenkairnes which lay at Drummond Castle, with the

rest of Angus's to Dumblain, ther being no need of so many forces as Drumlanrig had by him against the ennemy that appeares in the feelds at present, whom I order'd to keep my battaillon and that of Ramfay together with the hors for som dayes yet till wee heare further of those sculckers, which I heare loofes of their number dayly. I sent to Blair Athol to have what that officer knowes, and order'd Drumlanrig to send to the Weemb, Finlarig, and the castle of Drumond, for intelligence. I order'd Colonel Cunninghame to Braemar, with the 6 troops of hors and dragoons which he hath by him, and 600 of his best foot, to disarme or burn Invereyes country and all Brae mar, which I had no time to effectuat when I went north; and my oppinion is, the braes of Monteith, Bochwither, and other highlands thereabout ought to be treated the same way; but since it is so neare the government, I would not order it without their good finding. I make a halt here with Livingston's dragoons, and a battaillon of Laudertills. I know somthing of the ennemys, because I ly so much upon my way if they should turn to Aberdeenshire. This is all I have to advyfe at present, being, May it please your grace, your grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

Ther ought to be speciall care taken to get a set of honest men in majestrate of Aberdeen, for which ther is a good occasion, as my Lords Cardros and Balhaven can informe your grace, which by no means ought to be neglected, it being of great consequence for the securitie of the peace in the north, that that town be in good hands.

77. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE KING.

May it please your Majestie, *Edinbr the 16 October, 1690.*

As the success of your Majesties armes and magnanimous expedition in your kingdom of Ireland, hath defeated all the designs of such who were

equally enemies to your Majestie and the Protestant religion, and farr advanced the peace of that nation, so God hath lykwayes been pleased to blefs the conduct of your affairs and forces in this kingdom with such issue against the obstinat rebels of the nation ; that some of the chieff of them being disappoynted of there vain expectationes and conscious of ther own guilt and deservings, have, and wee believe many more will render themselves prisoners and submitt to your Majesties mercie ; and Wee haveing no instructione from your Majestie how such as shall so surrender themselves should be treated, whither by making them prisoners in the ordinarie goals, keeping them under guards, or setting them at libertie upon surety and baill, to appear when your Majestie shall signifie your pleasure about them, doe in all humilitiy beg your Majestie would be pleased to transmitt your commands to us herein, that all due obedience may be given to them.

The Lord Inverurie, eldest son to the Earle of Kintor, haveing been ingadged for some short space with the rebels, to his fathers great greiff and affliction, who had alwayes no less detestatione to any thing might tend to the least disloyaltie then abhorrence at this cryme in his son, which some of our own number were eye witnesses off, hath now rendered himself prisoner to the government and absolutely cast himself upon your Majesties mercie, without any condition or reserve whatsoever. The Councill have thought fitt to keep him confyned under a guard, untill your Majesties pleasure be knowen how he should be disposed off, being the first that hath offered in this manner a return to his duty, as he was among the last who departed from it.

The Earle of Argyre in prosecutione of the Councills commands for endeavoring to reduce the rebels of some of the Isles and places adjacent, being lyke (if he were invested with a power,) to have occasione of treating with some of the chief of these rebels, about the particulars contained in a letter sent by him to Major Generall Mackay for the Councills orders how to demain himself towards them therein, Wee have thought it our duty to transmitt that letter with a copie of the articles of the Surrendar

of the Castle of Inlandstalker, to the Secretary of State for this kingdom, to be communicat to your Majestie, that your orders to us therein may direct what furder instructions wee shall give to the Earle in that matter.

Major Generall Mackay hath frequently moved, that a constant committie of councill might be named to sitt twice a week or oftner, to consider and determin in such matters as relate to the carieing of the warr, or ordering your Majesties forces within this kingdom in such particulars as are not proper to be communicat in open Council before expeding therof, or of such particulars as cannot allow of the delay of Council meetings and debates of a full board, and in all other things, not to proceed without first making report to the Council, and being subjeēt to and receiving commands from them; which wee judged our duty to lett your Majestie know, that your Majestie might make such nominatione, and give such commands in this particular, as in your Royall wisdom, your Majestie shall think fitt. We are, May it please your Majestie, your Majesties most humble, most loyall and faithful subjects and servants.

MORTON.	CRAFURD.
	SOUTHERLAND.
	STAIR.
H. MACKAY.	C. CAMPBELL.
JOHN HALL.	C. CAMPBELL.
	ARC. MURRAY.
	RO. SINCLAIR.

*To the King,*

*In relation to the Prisoners.*

#### 78. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

*Edinbr the 16 October 1690.*

The state of the rebels in the highlands becomeing desperat, hes ob-  
leided severall of the cheiff of them, such as the Lords Innerurie, Frazer  
and others, to render themselves prisoners, and submitt to his Majesties

mercie. This, with what has occurred to the Earle of Argyle in his expedition against the Isles, occasioned severall motiones to be made at the board anent these particulars, which were concluded in a letter to his Majestie, which letter, with a copy thereof, and the Earle of Argyles originall letter to Major Generall Mackay, and a coppie of the articles of the surrendar of Ilandstaker are herewith transmitted to your Lordship, to be delivered and communicat to his Majestie, with your first convenience; earnestly entreating that your Lordship may use your interest with his Majestie for a speedie and particular answer, that none of his Majesties affairs depending hereon may be retarded. We are, my Lord, your Lordships most humble servants,

MORTON.

CRAFURD.

SOUTHERLAND.

STAIR.

H. MACKAY.

C. CAMPBELL.

JOHN HALL.

C. CAMPBELL.

ARC. MURRAYE.

RO. SINCLAIR.

*For the Right Honorable the Earle  
of Melvell, sole Secretary of State  
for the Kingdom of Scotland,  
London.*

*In relation to the Prisoners.*













